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THE CHURCH AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

BENGT G. M. SUNDKLER

THE GROWING CHURCH

FRIDTJOV BIRKELI

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL DIMENSION

OF WORLD MISSIONS

HEINRICH MEYER

ZINZENDORF'S APPROACH TO

CHURCH AND MISSION

LEIV AALEN

# CONTENTS

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Bengt G. M. Sundkler: The Church and its Environment . . . . .           | 222 |
| Fridtjov Birkeli: The Growing Church . . . . .                           | 229 |
| Heinrich Meyer: The Eschatological Dimension of World Missions . . . . . | 239 |
| Leiv Aalen: Zinzendorf's Approach to Church and Mission . . . . .        | 247 |

## FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Geneva Diary (Carl E. Lund-Quist) . . . . .   | 260 |
| <i>World Missions</i>   |     |
| Lutheran Mission Statistics (Arne Sovik) . . . . .  | 263 |
| The School Problem of the Lutheran Missions and Churches in South Africa<br>(Johannes Skauge) . . . . . | 269 |
| The Spiritual Life of the Younger Churches (Arvid Bäfverfeldt) . . . . .                                | 276 |
| <i>World Service</i>  |     |
| Lutheran World Service and the Principles of Inner Mission (Carl F. Reuss) . . . . .                    | 280 |
| <i>Theology</i>   |     |
| A New Lutheran Journal (H. H. Weissgerber) . . . . .  | 286 |

## FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <i>The Netherlands</i>  |     |
| The First International Conference on Lutheran Church Music in Amsterdam<br>(Friedrich Hofmann) . . . . . | 288 |
| <i>Indonesia</i>  |     |
| Christian Education in the Batak Church (Andar Lumbantobing) . . . . .                                    | 291 |
| <i>India</i>  |     |
| 250 Year Jubilee of the Tranquebar Mission (J. D. Asirvadam) . . . . .                                    | 296 |
| <i>South Africa</i>   |     |
| South Africa's German Evangelical Lutheran Synod (Georg Böker) . . . . .                                  | 301 |
| <i>Japan</i>  |     |
| The Problem of the Back Door (Sigurd Aske) . . . . .  | 305 |
| <i>Germany</i>  |     |
| The Religious Peace of Augsburg (Matthias Simon) . . . . .  | 308 |
| <i>Poland</i>   |     |
| Post-War Development of Theological Conferences (O. Krenz) . . . . .                                      | 312 |

## BOOK REVIEWS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Biblical Authority . . . . .                              | 314 |
| Confession, Church and Ministry . . . . .                 | 317 |
| Education and Educators . . . . .                         | 321 |
| Reinhold Niebuhr . . . . .                                | 323 |
| Sects and Free Churches . . . . .                         | 324 |
| Looking to the Marangu Conference (H. Bolewski) . . . . . | 327 |
| LWF Conference Schedule . . . . .                         | 329 |
| About this Number . . . . .                               | 330 |

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*F*ather of all men, whose mercy is great toward all who stand in need, and whose Son is the redeemer of all who call upon Him: We thank Thee that Thou hast called unto Thyself a Church among our brethren who live in the vast continent of Africa.

We beseech Thee for that Church and especially for all who have gathered in Tanganyika for the All Africa Lutheran Conference, to consider the affairs of Thy Kingdom.

Let the light of Thy sun shine, we pray Thee, upon the new day that is dawning in Africa. Put to flight the dark hosts of racial and national pride, of selfishness and intemperance, of ignorance and the worship of false gods. Give to Thy Word power and to Thy Church the Holy Spirit, that Jesus Christ may reign supreme;

Through the same Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

## A PRAYER FOR AFRICA

On the occasion of the All Africa Lutheran Conference



## The Church and its Environment

### The Ark and the Tent

In the beginning, God made His covenant with Adam (Gen. 1:26). But Adam fell, and he and the woman were driven out of the Garden. "And the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence". And God sent the waters of the Flood upon the earth, so that every living substance that God had made would be destroyed from off the face the earth (Gen. 7:4). But He made a new covenant, with Noah, who was saved in the Ark, and "Noah builded an altar unto the Lord" (Gen. 8:20). And the sons of Noah that went forth out of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth. These are the three sons of Noah and of them was the whole earth overspread (Gen. 9:18-19). And these were the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations, and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood (Gen. 10:32).

And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. Then the people decided to build a tower. "Let us make for ourself a name lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth". But the Lord saw the pride and arrogance and vanity of their hearts and "He went down". So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth. There and then was the very lowest point of the history of mankind. They were scattered abroad as fragments of dry brick over all the earth. As men in their pride and conceit raised the Tower as an altar to their own glory, they were left to dissolution and destruction and death.

Here was the "environment" given for that which was to come.

At that lowest point in the history of mankind, God called one man out from darkness. Now the Lord had said unto Abram: "Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee, and I will make thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing". So Abram departed, as the Lord had spoken unto him (Gen. 12:1-4). At that point, at that time, God made a new and lasting Covenant and gave unto Abram His promise (Gen. 13:14-18 a). And Abram struck his tent and journeyed until he came to the foreign country of Canaan, and east of Bethel he pitched his tent. And the Lord said: "Look now toward heaven and tell the stars . . ." (Gen. 15:5-6).

Out of this calling of Abraham grew the Church, which is the Family of the Covenant.



We cannot follow here its history through the Old Testament. On the threshold between the Old Testament and the New we find that in Judaism there were two different lines or currents: the conservative or Pharisaic, and the liberal Hellenised Judaism. Antagonism existed between the two. The liberal line of Jewish thought tried to adapt itself to Hellenistic, Greek ideas. The representatives of this school were missionary-minded and claimed that their religion was universal. But as the new faith, the Christian religion, emerged, this missionary-minded Judaism had to retreat, and the cautious, conservative Pharisaic party won for a while. The victory was a loss for Judaism, for this party believed that the people of God was identical with the Jewish people. They therefore thought that they could afford to retreat within the synagogue, and live only there. They survived as a religious community, conscious of being the heirs of a great tradition. They forgot the tent under the stars of the night and retreated into an Ark anchored in their own people alone.

But the lifestream of blessing and victory given in the Covenant with Abraham was led into the New Israel, the Church, which was the People of God. This people, however, was called out of all nations and races and tribes and tongues, to form the Family of the New Covenant.

They were a people apart, a separate people, a "third race" (besides the Gentiles and the Jews), separate and set apart in the saving Ark, which is the Church of Christ. Separate and saved in the Ark, yes, but not allowing the Ark to anchor in one race or one tribe or one class alone. And as we stay in the Ark, let us remember that we are not alone. Noah went into the Ark "with every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort" (Gen. 6:19). As the Redeemed Family dwells in the Ark, it carries with it in the Ark a responsibility for the whole of the environment, for the whole of God's world. In the Ark, it carries a representative responsibility of intercession for the whole of God's world.

The Bible shows, of course, that the Ark was necessary for the salvation of God's people. It was God Himself who told His faithful to withdraw into the Ark. By that vessel the Family of the Covenant can evade the wrath of God. Noah and his people did not withdraw into the Ark because they were afraid of the world or of the environment. Their withdrawal into the Ark was an act of faith, obeying God's command. In the same way, Christian life—of the individual and of the congregation—has to be lived in the Ark, in the Church, with its worship through the Word and the Sacraments (*cf.* I Peter 3:20).

The Church in the New Testament is an *ecclesia*: the Family of the Covenant, called out of all families and all peoples. Therefore it is a militant Church living in a state of tension in relation to the natural orders

of men. These natural groupings of men—in tribe and state and organization—react to this tension. By necessity, therefore, a living church becomes a church under pressure: a suffering church (I Thess. 3:5). The world wants to have it removed or rendered innocuous. There is the great temptation of the Church. She may find it safest to withdraw into a comfortable little ark, to a self-chosen ghetto (an isolated part of a town where Jews had to live). We do not speak here of the fact that the Church may be forced into a ghetto-existence, as has happened in Communist and Moslem countries in some parts of the world. But we speak of the temptation of the local church, of its own will and choice to withdraw within its secluded world, forgetting the encounter with the environment and ignoring its primary task to go forth under the stars of the morning, carrying the message.

There is danger if we stay in the "safety" of the Ark the day when God wants us to go out into the world to do His work there. The Ark, safe and separate and apart, whether it is lying in the harbor or sailing on the open sea, is not sufficient to recall to us the nature of the Church of the Covenant. We look to Abraham, the father of faith, walking over the open veld. In the freshness of dawn he has struck his tent, pressing forward in faith and obedience. As the Family of the Covenant increased, they took over Abraham's role in carrying the tent, through the desert, towards the Land of Promise. And in the tent was the ark, as a guarantee of God's Presence in their midst (I Sam. 7). Therefore they had peace and rest even in their exacting pilgrimage. The tent in the Bible is the abode of the pilgrim, and, in the New Testament, the term "tent" is used for the abode of Jesus Christ, as He identifies Himself with mankind. We learn this from the central Bible verse about the incarnation, John 1:14, "The Word became flesh and dwelt, (or, rather, pitched his tent) among us".

But just as He — who was from the beginning with God—humbled Himself and became incarnate in human conditions, so the Church, which is His body, carries her tabernacle, or tent, in order to pitch it among new peoples and in new environments.

And St. Paul, the Apostle to the pagan world! Is it only a play on words when we call this tentmaker "a man of the tent"? In order to let the Word be incarnate in new peoples and new groups of men, he identified himself with those whom he wanted to save and to win, (I Cor. 9:22–23). As a son of Abraham, the father of the Covenant, he circumcised Timothy, a half-Jew, in order to save and to win his own people (Acts 16:3).

The Christian has no right only to proclaim the truth and then to wash his hands in innocence. He must neglect no opportunity in order to win his people for the truth. Only as he has tried all means to win men and women will he himself be a partaker of the Gospel with those whom he



has won (I Cor. 9:23), i. e., both he and his new brethren will together be partakers of that which is brought about by Good Friday and Easter Morning—the Atonement and the Resurrection. This message is the same for all peoples, but it is reflected in different ways in different encounters. Just as the universal Gospel has specific and particular gifts to each people in its specific need, so Christ also can become a scandal to each people in its particular way. Each people says its own specific “no” to Jesus Christ and may crucify Him anew in its particular way—or may say its own “yes” to Him and may honor Him in its particular way, so rich is the message, so manifold is the wisdom of God (Eph. 3:10).

The Church which is called into being in this way cannot remain a national Church or a tribal Church: The story of Pentecost proves this (Acts 2) and points to a new unity, the unity of the one Family, under the Holy Spirit. Thus the curse of Babel is removed, and the blessing of the Covenant is renewed in Pentecost, as an earnest of the promise of the great multitude in heaven of all nations and tribes and peoples and tongues standing before the Throne (Rev. 7:9).

### **The Local Church in Africa and its Encounter with its Environment**

And now, from the Church in the Bible and the Church in heaven, we turn to the Church in the village, in the local community of Zorzor and Ceza, and Kigarama and Ilembula and Marangu. What about the Church and its environment there?

Is this Church an ark or a tent? Is it “safe” and secluded in self-chosen isolation from the environment? Or does it carry its tent, on the march, through the jungle, over the veld, under the stars of the ever faithful God?

As Abraham went out of his country and from his kindred and from his father's house, he went into a new land and unknown territory. So does mankind today. So does Africa today. This is the year of Bandung, the year of the great Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, Java, April 1955. Perhaps we can perceive, in a glass, darkly, what that means. Mankind has struck its tents and is moving once again into new territory. A whole era in the history of mankind has come to an end, or is approaching its appointed end. In this new era, the problems of Africa are bound to play a central role. What about the Church in Africa?

The task of the Church is a double one: prophetic warning and apostolic identification.

The Church, we have said, is an Ark in which men must live in order to be saved. The Church is and remains a foreigner among the people, in the native culture, in its environment. Even on continents which have been freed from colonialism, there will always be one colony left: the Church as a "colony of heaven" (Phil. 3:20, Moffat's translation), a colony with its own Constitution and Assembly and People. And by its heavenly constitution that Christian assembly and that Family of the Covenant must know how and when to say "no" in its encounter with the social and cultural problems of its day. *How* and *when* to say this "no" is something that the Church itself must decide. For a foreigner to suggest how this should be done would be presumptuous, a presumption which—I venture to suggest—the Church in Africa has had to suffer often. In relation to nationalism which increasingly is going to be the great theme of African future, or in relation to certain trends towards a mixture of Christianity with heathen belief, there will be many temptations for the Church. But the Church can only perform its specific task if it remembers that it must be, not a church of Africa, but the Church of Christ in Africa.

And yet—when this is said, there remains another important aspect which is often overlooked. The Church in various parts of Africa was too often an ark built according to the blueprints in the white man's shipbuilding office, brought out readymade from Swedish or German or British or New England ship-yards.

The Church is called to pitch the tent of identification in the soil of the people. If there is to be a real encounter with the environment, it must be an encounter of someone who identifies himself in order to bring his message, and who dares to say "yes"—when God wants him to say "yes". At this Lutheran conference of African Churches we must remind ourselves of the task of interpreting in the terms and expressions and thoughtforms of the particular tribal, village, or urban community. There are many on this great continent who long for church leaders with courage and imagination to translate the given Gospel into generous and rich African terms of expression relevant to the whole of life in Africa. The rhythm of the year, and the wonderful rhythm of the Church's year—a theme so terribly forgotten in too many of our churches—the rhythm of movement in song and music; the expression of Christian witness and service in terms of community and fellowship: all this, and much more that could be mentioned, "all this is yours", to be baptized unto Christ. In this conference of Churches from many lands of Africa there is a great opportunity for the sharing of experiences and achievements—and failures—in this field.

And—we are convinced—it is a field where the Lutheran Church can learn much from sister churches, in an ecumenical fellowship. This



perspective is perhaps not always as clear as it ought to be. But as, increasingly, Africans themselves become the leaders of their churches, there is hope for great advance also in this respect.

The duty of identification with the noblest aspirations of our peoples also applies to the Church's attitude towards today's movements of nationalism; that much, at least, must be said, all the while remembering the prophetic ministry of warning and criticism which has been laid upon the Church. In saying this, some may perhaps regard us as agitators, a judgment which these same critics are not prepared to make with regard to certain bold statements made by Roman Catholic leaders in, e. g. Madagascar and, to some degree, Tanganyika. We must always bear in mind that the inspiration which the Church should give in regard to the national aspirations of the people is one of a specific nature, stressing the fact that true democracy is formed by creative Christian minorities, led by high Christian ideals. I quote from the Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops, Bishops, and Prefects Apostolic to the Catholic people of Tanganyika, of July 1953: "The three cardinal institutions, the Legislative Council, the Provincial Councils and the Local Councils will wield, each in its own domain, authority from God to direct wisely and justly the destinies of the nation; and considered as integral parts of one instrument of national government they constitute the State. It is clear, therefore, that the choice of representatives of the people in these bodies is of immediate and serious concern. They must be men of proven honesty, moral courage, true wisdom and wide learning. All lawful rulers receive their authority from God whether they owe their position to birth or appointment or to some form of popular election; consequently they have a right to be obeyed and respected by all."

A definite strategy is called for here. An imaginative Christian education must be given to the leaders in local communities. The leaven of the well-instructed dedicated small group has always been of decisive importance in the development and transformation of society, and this will be so also in the Africa of tomorrow. How far are we prepared to give inspiration here of a sufficiently high spiritual quality? This strategy of the dedicated group is of primary importance to the whole of the Church's life and task. Perhaps the greatest need here is for living church centers, embodying a quality of radiating Christian life. To these centers pastors and "ordinary" Christian men and women should come, as to a retreat, in order to go out from there in new bold advance on the frontiers of real encounter with old pagan forces and modern secularistic powers. Such centers, and also the Christian literature and Christian newspapers which they publish should form a bridge between the Church and ordinary daily life in family, school, and work. I came across the idea—which,

of course, is not new—in the first days of the Revival in Bukoba, Tanganyika, about 1943–1944. There was a small group of dedicated young men who formed an association (ekyama) for victorious agriculture, victorious business, and victorious Christianity: While some went out for weeks to witness, their brethren took it upon themselves to look after the stores and gardens of those who had gone. Here was a living Christian community which could not fail to attract. The main thing, of course, is not what such a senter does, but what it is; how far it can give inspiration and new vision by instruction and, above all, by renewal of personal Christian life, through the Word, Confession, and Holy Communion. If the Church is content with its own old routine, it is in danger. Centers of this kind would strengthen the worship and witness of the local Church in its encounter with the world.

It is a withdrawal, as it were, into the Ark; but withdrawal in order to prepare our people the more for advance and service and conquest in the name of the Lord.

I do not need to enumerate the manifold tasks which we have to perform in our encounter with the environment. As we look at all that is expected from the Church, just in our concrete, local situation, we are tempted sometimes to feel that everything is hopeless: We ourselves are so inadequate, and therefore we do not see much to encourage us, or others.

If that is our situation we need to return, in concluding, to the Ark and the Tent. There is a closer connection between the two than we have shown so far. As the Family of the Covenant moved along, they knew a secret which gave them courage and hope: in the tent *was the ark*. Without that ark the tent would be empty and the carrying of it would be in vain. If we rely on our own achievements and activities, we become powerless and hopeless. But as we look to the Presence and Power in the Church's midst—in Jesus Christ, in His Words and Sacraments—we receive new strength.

And on the other hand: Only God determines the day when the Church shall have arrived into "the good land". The Ark is set *in a tent*, to be carried forward, not to be left in static complacency. The tent must be carried forward, through the desert, among mighty Philistines and other enemies. Forward in the name of the Crucified and Risen Lord, conquering to conquer.



## The Growing Church

It is at once exceedingly dangerous and necessary to speak about "The Growing Church". Dangerous, because there are so many misconceptions about what the Church really is and about its real growth. Necessary, because if the Church does not grow, it is a dead or dying church.

### What is the Church?

In his book *The Misunderstanding of the Church*, the European theologian Emil Brunner says among other things: "What we know as the church or churches resulting from historical developments cannot claim to be the *Ecclesia* in the New Testament sense" (p. 106). But in the New Testament the Church was not an institution, he maintains, whereas what we usually call a church today is a visible, man-made institution which has a life that is completely different from that of which the New Testament speaks. Others join with him and say: We lay too much emphasis on the church as an institution which *we* have built up and maintained and in which *we* are active and busy, as if it were some kind of cosy club.

Do not we also sometimes think of the Church in Africa as being very visible and tangible? A pleasant place where, lest the rapid growth of the Church be impeded, discipline is not too rigid? A place full of song and happiness away from the cares and sorrows of the world? This popular way of thinking is widespread and dangerous.

But on the other side, how is it possible to think of the Church as an interim representative of the Kingdom of God in this world without her having a visible, institutional form? Such thinking would lead us into a spiritual trap that could be just as dangerous as the alternative. Spiritual life could not exist without a visible order in a world whose essential characteristic is that the material and spiritual aspects of life are so closely intermingled that they cannot be completely separated. The Church could, therefore, never consist of isolated spiritual cells cut off by hermetically closed walls from the materialist world. That would be too easy a life and not the life intended for the Church. Because the Church belongs to this world, she is both visible and invisible, and in

such a way that it is impossible to separate these two natures from each other without destroying the Church.

From what has already been said it should be clear that it is impossible to identify the Church with society or with the state, though this is frequently done. It is done, for instance, when people say: The Church should be responsible for the physical welfare of the world, otherwise she is merely talking and not doing God's will; or: If the Church cannot stop all the sins of colonialism she is no Church; or again: If the Church cannot stop communism, communism must be better. The Church is something less and something more than both society and state. She need not be in opposition to them, though this sometimes becomes necessary when society or the state forces the Church into an existence that is contrary to her nature and purpose.

Sometimes it is said: We do not want the Christian Church to grow among our people because she represents a *foreign* religion and a civilization that belongs to a foreign race. It is true that Christians have too often identified their religion with Western civilization to a degree that has caused all sorts of misgivings. But the Christian Church can very well exist in many different civilizations—including the African—if the relations between religion and civilization are correctly understood. Christianity can also very well exist in every race, as history has already proved. Yet at the same time it cannot be denied that Christianity is a foreign religion—foreign not only to Africa but to every people because it does not represent a man-made religion. It represents the revelation of God who was unknown to all of us until Christ came and made Him known.

Therefore the church cannot become an instrument in our hands to serve our materialistic aims, our special kind of civilization, or any imperialistic oppression. The church is something much more. It is an instrument *in God's hand* to forward His purpose among mankind in an era in which sin, death, and the devil are engaged in a furious battle to destroy God's purpose.

It is extremely comforting to know that the Church is not left alone in this situation. *She is the Body of Christ*, created by God through His son, guided by God through the Holy Spirit. Thank God the Church is invisible because of this mystical union with Christ. Thank God the Church is visible, in order that everybody may find the way that leads to salvation, which is not the Church—the instrument—but Christ alone, the crucified and living Christ, the Head of the Church. The Church is God's instrument, one with all the members serving each other in love. But she is not only that; the Church is also God's instrument through which all of mankind shall be served.



We must test our Church in Africa today by these facts, knowing that the Church needs to be an *ecclesia semper reformanda* (a church ever in need of reformation).

## The Growth of the Church

Starting with a Lutheran working definition, namely that the Church is the communion of saints where the Word of God is rightly preached and the sacraments rightly administered, we see that no mention is made of our abilities and energy. On the contrary, it is a question of a communion of believers in Christ with the Word and the Sacraments. That this life has been channeled into different institutional forms in the course of the centuries is not in itself sin. And that God has used men with different abilities within this framework is also evident. Although church huts and cathedrals may not be indispensable, they have certainly played a vital part in the growth of truly Christian church life.

But it cannot be emphasized strongly enough here that the Church cannot grow *by herself or of herself*. The growth of the Church is not primarily a question of men and buildings but of growth in communion with Christ. Growth is not a matter of human efficiency and good planning; it is spiritual. There is growth wherever the Holy Spirit, through Word and Sacraments in communal life, creates Christian love within the Church and for those still outside her fold, a life of prayer and service. And the only way in which such life can exist in a world that is completely alien to such spiritual values is through *Christ*, His life and death.

Christ is the formation of the Church because of His cross and grave, because He is the forgiveness of sin, the indispensable grace whereby we can exist before God as righteous and act among men as His emissaries. He is also the source and fountain of all growth because "He is the end of the body, the church" (Col. 1:18). There will be no growth for the Church or for the Christians unless "rooted and built up in him" (Col. 2:7). This, again, means that it is not wise to pass too quick a judgment on the right growth of the Church on the basis of visible factors only, because the life and growth of the Church are partly hidden in Christ.

But if it is very difficult to describe and characterize this growth fully, it is also crystal clear that what matters for the right growth is that the Church have a Christ-centered theology and oneness that always keeps the Church close to Christ through the Holy Scriptures. Instead of looking for criteria by which to measure the growth of the Church, it is most important for the Church and Christians to be in Christ by faith alone and to know by experience that growth results by grace alone.

God's gift to the Church through Christ is meant for all of mankind. "Every Christian a missionary and every church a missionary church" is therefore not a man-made slogan. It is not an obligation; it is an expression of the normal growth of what was instituted by God through Christ and the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

The problem of keeping the Church growing throughout Africa, throughout the whole world, is therefore the problem of keeping it close to Christ in Word and Sacraments and communal life. And thus there is one criterion, one measure, one norm for the growth of the Church: Christ, the Head of the Church.

### Enemies of Growth

Keeping the Church close to Christ through the ages has meant fighting for her; when the Church has been a true *ecclesia militans*, she has grown. In times of trial and persecution, the glory of the *unio mystica* with Christ has led to wonderful growth. As a matter of fact the Church will have to be a fighting Church throughout the whole of this era because sin, the devil, and all sorts of anti-Christian movements will not cease to deliver frontal and ambush attacks upon Christians and the Church from time to time.

It is helpful to note that creeds emerged as fruits of the Church's battle against dangerous attacks. The history of dogma is therefore very often the history of the living, growing Church. The confessions represent valuable experience and common heritages also for the growing Church in Africa.

It is, of course, impossible to enumerate all that can stop the growth of the Church, but a few things may help to move our thought further:

*Faulty Theology.* In times when the Church adhered to a theology that denied Christ as both true man and true God, as the Saviour of all mankind through His atoning death on the cross and His Easter resurrection, the Church was dying. History has shown us this in a startlingly clear way. A faulty theology which leads away from Christ is the devil's ablest fifth column within the Church. That is why it is so important for the Church to have a theology which is founded on biblical realism and not on shifting human philosophy. We do not produce the works whereby the Church grows. But if the Church is in Christ then the union with Him will inevitably lead to growth, and to works for which He has grace and power. Growth is only that which is in accordance with God's will. Consequently, all our church activity must be judged on this basis. It may well be, then, that much of it is not God-willed activity emanating from



the unity with Christ, but only man-inspired busy-ness. Moreover, it should be clear that not the word "activity", but rather "in Christ," is the key word in church growth. It must simply be understood that "in Christ" means activity more than anything else—but an activity dimensioned by God, sometimes visible but more often invisible. Did not Luther say: "The more work we have to do, the more God forces us into a life of prayer"?

*Poor Discipline.* Bad church discipline will open the doors to elements that destroy from within. Church discipline is not meant to be a weapon in the hands of missionaries in order that *they* may run a small but faithful machine according to their own will, as some Africans have said. Church discipline is, on the contrary, a consequence of the fact that God is not only love. He is also holy. Thus, although He loves the sinner, He cannot coexist with sin. Church discipline is an instrument whereby the Christian Church, as the Body of Christ, respects the holiness of God and whereby she is kept close to God's law and grace. Vigilant church discipline that is in accord with the Word of God will prevent foreign elements from changing the character of the Church and impeding real growth. Above all, this discipline must be exercised on the professional workers of the Church herself.

*Remnants of Paganism.* But other fifth columns may endanger real growth. Animists posing as Christians but secretly still using amulets, witch doctors, etc., will slowly sap the Christian strength of the Church.

Both in Europe and Asia ancestor worship has been another fifth column that has managed to live on more or less secretly within the Church, claiming not to be in contradiction with its teachings but, nevertheless, binding many Christians in a way that slowly kills the spiritual life within them. In some countries it took several centuries before heathen ancestor worship ceased to be a fifth column within the Church. This may be the case in several churches in Africa as well.

*Political Activity.* It is a well-known fact that a country's political tensions sometimes exert pressure on the church which seems to be disastrous to its spiritual life. The church and the Christians will have to make up their minds, guided by Holy Scripture in the different situations, whether spiritual values and the will of God are at stake or not. They will not yield to pressure from men but obey God, if they are forced to choose between these two alternatives. Sometimes the church and the Christians may have to stay aloof from political matters, again sometimes they must take part in them in order to ensure the normal growth of the Church according to the will of God.

*Spiritual Coldness.* But the greatest danger for the growth of the Church is perhaps her own worldliness, her secularization, her materialism,

her "failure to show Christian love as an actual fact" (Tambaram). This is certain not only to stop growth but also to kill the Church if it prevails. As the onlookers said about the early Christians, "See how they love each other", so they must have reason to say the same today, lest there be no growth at all. This does not mean that the scandal of the cross should be hidden and that the realistic biblical word of sin and repentance should not be proclaimed. On the contrary, these searching words should also be turned against Christians and the Church herself. There is no possibility of inner growth without the constant penitence of church workers and church members.

*Tribalization.* It sometimes happens that a whole tribe accepts Christianity and consequently it becomes *à la mode* in that tribe to be a Christian. And because the tribe has accepted Christianity, many seem to think that Christianity, in turn, must accept the tribe and the rules of the tribe. That is possible if there is nothing in the life and rule of the tribe that is against the Word of God. But most likely this is not the case. The limits of a tribe can never be the limit of Christianity, which is meant for all, even for the hostile tribes. The Word of God is sown everywhere and will bear fruit everywhere. Consequently all races and individuals have equal rights to hear and receive Christianity.

*Mission-Church Tensions.* Many maintain that the Church is growing so slowly because of the relations between mission and church. This may be both right and wrong.

The seed is the Word of God, and it creates a congregation, many congregations, a church body, seemingly out of nothing. Small plants become big through natural growth, by receiving rain and sun and food from the soil. But they have to be nurtured through difficult periods: sometimes there is too much sun and sometimes too much rain. There are numerous difficulties, especially when a weak little plant is moved from the greenhouse and planted in free soil. Then it needs careful help in order not to succumb.

The relations between mission and young church are exactly like this, and many missions are like over-helpful gardeners. They keep on directing the growth in the greenhouse too long, many maintain.

They hesitate so long before planting the seedling in the open air that it is too late when it is finally done. Then again, missionaries are too quick in making the transplantation, expecting too much of the wee little seedling accustomed to hothouse shelter and care. It seems that the ideal relations between missions and younger churches are yet to be discovered.

The missions often say: They are not yet mature spiritually. They do not know how to handle money. They lack competent leadership. The political circumstances are such that the time is not yet ripe for the church to



have full freedom. They are like children that must still be educated for many years to come, lest what has been built up should break down again.

The younger churches often say: The missions want us to be their obedient children forever; they are so paternally minded that they will never be able to help us to sound growth in the open; they don't realize that they constantly keep us under the yoke of all kinds of inferiority complexes; they educate us to be faithful servants of *their* system, of their own persons, not to be independent leaders of a freely growing church. They ally themselves with political systems that we could never accept if we were to be given full freedom. And they do so because they do not understand the importance of social and political freedom for the Church.

The relations between missions and younger churches have thus regrettably often turned into stalemate warfare instead of harmonious partnership; warfare in which the missions have been pushing the younger churches forward too quickly in order to be faithful to a certain scheme; warfare in which the churches engaged to obtain their rights against the conservative missions. Furthermore, the seedling that has been transplanted will have to suffer considerably before the victory of growth is won—a fact that missions must accept and take into consideration.

## How Missions Can Help a Growing Church

Missions can never faultlessly direct the growth of the church. Nor may they be able to discern the right moment for relinquishing all power. Sometimes we see that God permits political change to bring about full independence for the church. But when this stage is reached, missions should already have relinquished all ruling power and educated the church to assume guidance in all spiritual and practical matters: it is regrettable when political developments reveal the sins of the missions.

On the other hand, it is also deplorable if autonomy means simply the grasping by the younger churches of the power to rule according to their personal will and benefit, paving the way for corruption and personal pride, for compromise with sin and heathendom. There is something wrong if the leaders of the younger churches refuse the valuable help of experienced foreign helpers and refuse to look upon them as full-fledged members of the church who are, however, willing to "fade away" as executives.

As a rule, it can be said that the missions must ever prepare the church and its leading national servants for full autonomy in the way shown us in the New Testament and that they must take risks boldly at every turn of developments. The young church itself must be given the opportunity

of learning through making those mistakes without which no real growth can be expected. No church in this fallible world ever grew without making mistakes. And missions must be willing to fade completely out of the picture, although there may still be need for individual helpers.

### Some Practical Points

Let us then enumerate a number of practical matters which are of the utmost importance for the growth of the Church, aiming thus to give some material for a healthy discussion of them in an African setting.

*A Capable Ministry.* Good and solid training of the ministry—both theoretical and practical—is of paramount importance for the sound growth of the Church. A mission can never launch this early enough. This point is most important since, after all, the language of the heart is one's own mother tongue. Furthermore, the training of the ministry must be done in organic connection with the African context and not according to Western standards. The immediate needs within the Church, not a foreign academic level, must be borne in mind constantly so as to supply the existing congregations with the necessary number of pastors who will be free from the suspicion of paying lip-service to an un-African occidentalism.

*Lay Activity.* Another very important matter is that of giving free course to an active, working lay movement within each congregation. The "priesthood of all believers" is a constitutive principle in a normal, growing church. If pastors and other paid workers are hindering the initiative and sound activities of lay people within the framework of their congregations, no real growth may be expected either spiritually or materially. The right relation between laymen and pastors should be that of co-operation and mutual assistance in carrying out all the activities of church life, joyfully accepting the different appointments by God to the different charismatic positions. The frequent and repeated visiting of Christians and non-Christians, especially, certainly should be a joint enterprise.

*A Word-of-God Church.* The spread and use of the Word of God is another all-important factor in forwarding the healthy growth of the Church. In fact, there is no real growth—no matter how active we may be—if the Word of God is not working through reading, preaching, and teaching in huts and churches during working hours as well as leisure time. A growing church is a Word-of-God church. How can we make better use of the printed Word in forwarding the growth of the Church and of



congregational life? This seems to be an extremely important point for discussion.

*Healthy Finances.* Another crucial matter has to do with finance and the economic affairs of the church and the congregations. This is often the place where corruption creeps in and plays havoc among individual Christians. It is therefore very important to have a sound organization whereby holy money is administered in a holy way. Every Christian must feel that the money he gives is rightly handled; he must have confidence in the treasurers at all levels. He must be given evidence that his pastor is not merely thinking of a higher salary. At the same time, Christians must see to it that paid church workers have decent salaries. Audited accounts are indispensable everywhere; churches should be wary of receiving too much financial assistance from abroad, lest their economy be geared to a living standard which they cannot maintain once they are forced to live on their own resources. At any rate, the operating expenses of both the congregations and the whole church body should not be dependent on foreign funds when the stage of so-called autonomy has been reached.

*Youth Work.* Finally, the importance of taking care of the children and young people is self-evident. There is no future growth without them. The importance of Sunday schools should be stressed everywhere. But if the young Christians are not to be lost to the Church in this materialistic and highly secularized era, something more must be done for them. A good and varied program of youth work is an urgent need for the church in Africa today—not only in the cities and industrialized areas but also in rural churches.

*Adaptability.* The Christian Church is not static; she is always moving, always reforming within the framework of the unchanging and unchangeable divine factors. Although God and His Word are the same throughout the ages, although salvation is completed once and for all in Christ, life here on earth is a living stream, an on-going fight, requiring our willingness to regroup according to changing conditions, as Christ leads His Body forward. What was good missionary policy in the last century may have to be revised today so as not to hinder the growth of the Church. For a long time, for instance, the *mission station* was the center of the work, thereby often slowing down the growth of the Church. But it must not come to pass that the mission station is replaced by a national and worldly minority complex whereby the natural growth of the Church would be reduced still further—if not brought to a complete standstill. We need to reconsider the situation together and in the light of the Word of God so as to give Christ at any time the opportunity to reform the Church, enabling her to fulfil her task.

## The Final Goal

For more than a hundred years we have been accustomed to think of autonomy as the final goal for the churches in Africa. They were to be coached to become self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating. This was an excellent expression of missionary strategy that was needed for a certain time. But when the word autonomy is interpreted to mean only being independent of missions and foreign helpers, then it cannot any longer be used as an expression for the ultimate goal of the growth of the Church. It tempts us too much to think in a worldly, self-centered way, as if a Christian church in any country could ever be autonomous. A German church leader has expressed this dangerous possibility as follows: "The word autonomy is a sinful word, and an un-Christian word. A *Christian* church can never become autonomous, it can only become Christonomous."

That is why we must also state that the goal is more than outwardly visible growth. The goal is, ever to be an instrument for God's salvation of all people, a willing tool to be used in His mighty hands at all times. This is also the goal for the Church in Africa today.

But the final goal for the growing Church is still hidden in Christ, the coming Judge and ultimate Saviour.



## The Eschatological Dimension of World Missions

Eschatology was one of the doctrinal issues which had disappeared almost completely below the horizon of the ordinary theologian and church leader up to World War I. It found a somewhat peripheral recognition in the textbooks of orthodox systematicians. Only a number of sects emphasized—perhaps one should say, overemphasized—eschatology to such an extent that apocalyptic expectations became the central and almost exclusive issue of their theology.

At Evanston, a mere 40 years later, all were called to think and speak about eschatology because the main theme "Christ—the Hope of the World" made this subject the focus of ecumenical discussion. That does not mean that it became also the focal point of ecumenical agreement! On the contrary, it was quite evident that the subject of eschatology, far from being the result of voluntary theological research, had been forced upon the churches and their theologians by God through two terrible wars, their prelude, interlude, and aftermath. The churches have been rather slow to apprehend what God pointed out to them. Even in 1938 at Tambaram it was but a small number of continental mission leaders who, a dissenting minority, issued a declaration which advocated an eschatological interpretation of the Church and her mission and protested against what they felt to be a dangerous secularization of the Church.

Evanston saw a somewhat changed attitude. Almost everyone, though some rather reluctantly, admitted that biblical research on both sides of the ocean had proved eschatology to be an essential element of the biblical witness. But this admission by no means signified a *rapprochement* between the diverging views. Only the scene of the struggle had shifted: the term "eschatology" itself became the subject of widely divergent interpretations.

It is therefore imperative that we should here start by trying to state and analyze the various definitions of "eschatology" as they are presented to us today. There are four clearly discernible definitions of eschatology, all of them seriously trying to interpret the Holy Scriptures, all of them acknowledging in some way or other the missionary obligation of the Church. For the moment we shall leave the fourth interpretation out of

consideration, because the first three definitions seem to have certain basic common features. We might call them *apocalyptic eschatology*, *radical eschatology*, and *realized eschatology*. It is readily admitted that the dividing line between these types is not always clear and that there are mixed types, too. But for the purpose of this study it is commendable to abide by the three above-mentioned clearly defined conceptions of eschatology.

*Apocalyptic eschatology*, represented most clearly by Jehovah's Witnesses, sets out with the assertion that the  $\epsilon\sigma\chi\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ , the end of all things, has not yet come and is still to be expected at a future moment of our time and history. The second coming of our Lord is the all-important, decisive point, because at that moment this whole world of ours will perish and be annihilated, and the Lord will commence His new reign together with the 144,000 elect. The mission of the believers can thus have but this double sense: to announce to the world its absolute wickedness and consequent damnation, and to gather the full number of the elect 144,000. There can be no doubt that there is some biblical basis for these statements. But it is surprising to note that this conception of eschatology compels its authors to disregard and even to deny certain other biblical statements. The first coming of the Lord is deprived of its saving quality and its unique importance. Indeed, even the person of our Lord is deprived of certain functions and qualities: He is not the priest and king. He is but the prophet who announced the coming end. He is not the Son of God; the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is rejected altogether. One cannot suppress the question whether this kind of one-sided biblicism which destroys the authority of other biblical words is not due to the fact that man secretly has made himself master of the Holy Scriptures and therefore lord of the Lord. But let us leave that last question unanswered for the moment and turn to the second type.

What I would like to call *radical eschatology* is represented in its main features by Rudolf Bultmann. Radical eschatology starts with the thesis that God's holy world is totally different from our world and therefore means the end of this world whenever and wherever it encounters the latter. This meeting of the two worlds which means the end of our world occurs whenever and wherever the proclamation of the word of Jesus Christ takes place. This confrontation of the two worlds does not and cannot happen outside our own existence. It cannot be separated from my actually hearing and believing the Word. When I hear and believe the *kerygma* here and now, then and only then do death and life, cross and resurrection of Jesus become a reality. Cross and death are such a radical "no" from God to our human world, its existence, its religion, its forms of thought and speech which are all revealed in their enmity against and



incompatibility with God's world, that actually the end has come already when I hear and believe the *kerygma*.

This is the reason for Bultmann's program of *Entmythologisierung* (demythologizing). Demythologizing means acknowledging the fact that all human words and ideas bear the imprint of our sinfulness, our separation from God, and are therefore myths to be exposed as such. It is obvious that neither the history leading to the birth of Jesus the Jew, nor the history leading from the birth of Jesus to a future point of time which would mark His second coming are of any importance. Even the events of the life of Jesus between His birth and death on earth are entirely irrelevant. The event of my confrontation with the *kerygma* is end and salvation.

There is undoubtedly a good deal of biblical insight in these statements of radical eschatology. There is a place for missionary activity too. Mission means the constant obligation of the believers to proclaim the end and, at the same time, the salvation. There is no goal for this proclamation unless it be the continued existence of the Church as a sign and a place for this proclamation of God's altogether different world. It is obvious that radical eschatology, too, deprives the Gospel of certain elements which the apostles considered of the essence of their witness, e. g., the fact that God actually became man and thereby entered man's history. Furthermore, it deprives the person of Jesus of its true nature, spiritualizing the functions of prophet, priest, and king into an almost Docetic and primarily intellectual event within the individual human being. There is an almost uncanny kinship between Gnosticism and the position of radical eschatology! Again the question arises whether arbitrary onesided emphasis on specific points of the biblical message has not led to an altogether unwarranted disregard for other equally important points; in other words, whether God's radicalism if exercised and explained by man does not turn into exactly the opposite, a human radicalism which tends to eradicate the fullness of the biblical truth.

The third type of eschatology, so-called *realized eschatology*, is, in part, very similar to the second: It likewise asserts that the end is already here because Christ has overcome sin, death, hatred, and injustice. It is equally outspoken about what is called the mythical form and terminology of the biblical message which is considered to be part of our human existence and which therefore can be of no substantial weight whatsoever. Amongst such mythical thoughts and terms are numbered, e. g., the statements about miracles, about Jesus' birth of a virgin, about the second coming of the Lord at a certain future date of history, etc. Eschatology actually means the presence of God's kingdom which is radically opposed to all sin, wickedness, and injustice here and now. But—and here realized eschatology

differs from Bultmann and his disciples—God's Lordship, realized in Christ, is to be realized by us, the believers, in this world. Whereas Bultmann has only a radical "no" for this world of ours, realized eschatology believes in a realization of God's kingdom within this world. Here eschatological consummation is neither a future event nor is it an individual act of faith by which the individual believer meets Christ, the Lord, in his own life, but it is the full realization of God's Lordship in this world, resulting in a world of holiness, happiness, peace, and justice.

No doubt there is a mission on the basis of this conception: the believers are under an obligation to help by word and deed, by a comprehensive approach to bring not only all men, but all powers and nations in this world under the rule of Christ. But whereas Bultmann may legitimately be asked whether he has any basis for Christian ethics at all, one has to inquire of the representatives of realized eschatology whether they do not derive their ethical principles from human, worldly values which they have substituted surreptitiously for that peace and justice which is God's alone and which is a gift of grace and not something to be realized by human activity. What arouses our suspicion in the concept of realized eschatology is the fact that the biblical statements about the kingdom of God and Jesus the King apparently compel the theologians to suppress and invalidate other equally biblical statements about, e. g., the depth of sin and eternal judgment, about atonement and grace and consequently about the godhead of Jesus and His second advent.

It is very perturbing indeed that in every case loyalty to one particular scriptural truth not only is no safeguard against disloyalty to other essential statements of the Holy Scriptures, but actually compels people to disregard, spiritualize, or explain away such statements. The mathematical term "dimension" means that there is not just one line, but two, there is not just one plane, but two, not having the same origin and direction. These lines and planes intersect at a certain given point or line; by this co-ordination they express the fullness of our three-dimensional world. Using this mathematical figure of dimensions that only in their proper co-ordination are able to contain between them the fullness of a mathematical body and that if left alone and unco-ordinated lose their own character of dimension, we might say: The three types of eschatology characterized thus far all have but one dimension, and that means they have no dimension, no discernible origin and direction at all. In other words: By absolutizing one aspect of eschatology they lose eschatology altogether. There is no true *ἐσχατον* in any of these eschatologies. For the apocalypsts there is only the new world to come at a future date, for radical eschatology there is only the spiritual world of God, expressed and contained in the *kerygma*, and for realized eschatology this world of



ours will be the eternal world. For all three, history in the sense of chronology is of no importance. History is but the unexplained fact that there is an unending sequence of events coming from nowhere and leading nowhere. Parallel to this observation runs the other that because of a lack of eschatological dimension, the definition of the mission of the Church, too, lacks clear direction and any relationship to either God's world or ours, and therefore to both.

At this point, the representatives of these three types of eschatology would most probably unanimously point out that the Holy Scriptures themselves are the reason for their particular interpretation of eschatology, that the Bible's statements about the end are contradictory and that one has no option but to take one and interpret the others in its light. In other words: The biblical statements are like a selection of keys, only one of which will fit. You therefore discard the others as bad imitations of a key, as unsuccessful efforts at making a key or, to use the modern term, as mythical expressions which, at best, point to a certain truth, but which are not by themselves the truth.

To all who have followed the ecumenical discussion before and after Evanston it will be clear that here we face the dilemma which theologians confronted at that great conference and which they were obviously unable to solve! Has the end come already so that it remains only to realize and harvest the fruits, or is it an event to be expected in the future? Although there has been no satisfactory answer to this question, I am personally convinced that a key to our problem was offered us at Evanston. It is found in Evanston's central theme: Christ—the hope of the world. The mistake we committed at Evanston was trying to interpret christology in terms of a certain conception of eschatology, whereas we ought to have interpreted eschatology in terms of christology. In other words, the term eschatology itself is no fitting key, no solution at all. What true eschatology is, can be learnt from Christ alone.

I shall now try to explain eschatology in the terms of christology, in particular in the terms of Chalcedonian teaching, the doctrine of the two natures of Christ or, to put it in even simpler words, in the light of the fact that in Christ God became man. I do not quite know what to call this fourth conception of eschatology. One might name it *biblical eschatology*, because we endeavor to let the whole seemingly contradictory witness of the Holy Scriptures stand. One might also call it *historical eschatology*, because here the fact and meaning of history are taken seriously. Perhaps *christological eschatology* would be the most precise description of this effort at understanding the end, because it is dominated by the conviction that nothing on earth and in heaven can be understood correctly unless it be understood in its relation to Christ at the center.

The fact that in Christ God became man means the end of man, his world, and his time. On the cross sinful man was condemned and died and descended into hell—that eternal annihilation, that impossible human existence without God. In Christ the history of God's chosen people Israel has come to an end. So has the law and the prophetic word. So has sin and death. So has the wrath—and the grace—of God, because the end of our world is at the same time the fulfilment of God's grace. Christ rose. Now the world is reconciled with God. The new creation is here; Eternity has entered our world. Jesus' word on the cross τετέλεσται "it is fulfilled", does not denote anything else but the real τέλος, the end in an absolute sense, which is end and consummation, fulfilment at the same time. Thus far we can agree with the representatives of radical and realized eschatology. In Christ Jesus, God and man, the end of judgment and grace has come.

But how is it that we still live, almost two thousand years after the end has come? How is it that in the very first days and years after Easter the church lived in ardent expectation of the end, describing it as the future coming of the Lord, praying for it with that old powerful prayer "Come, Lord!"? Here we have to pay attention to one peculiar statement of the New Testament: Besides the term τέλος, "the end", and ἡ ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα, "the last day", we find the plural ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις "in the last days". Here, apparently, the end is not a point, but a period, a stretch of time marked by two ends, the end consummated on the cross and the end at the day of judgment. The point denoted by the word "end" apparently and surprisingly has assumed a historical dimension, so that the whole period between the cross and the second advent, i. e., the period in which we live, is the end, a time which can be understood properly only if we see it in the light of these two sentences: In Christ the end has come already. In Christ the end will come. To which we might add the third sentence: In Christ the end is present now.

What is the reason for these humanly speaking irreconcilable statements? The answer must be: The very fact that in Christ God became man. God took man so seriously—because He created him and still loved him—that He entered into man's history. He preserved history—saving Noah, calling Abraham, electing Israel—until out of Israel Jesus was born, true God and true man, in whom judgment of and grace toward man and the world was consummated. And even now God does not want man to be saved by any other fact or act, either human or superhuman, but by this one gracious act of His in history by which He, the Holy One, identified Himself with the sinner.

That means that He wants this salvation to be proclaimed in man's history wherever man lives, and through men. Therefore He permits the



end to assume a chronological dimension. Therefore, in His long-suffering kindness He allows the world to exist for a while even though in Christ it has already met its end. Therefore He establishes and uses the Church, the Body of Christ, the pilgrim people, the men with whom He has identified Himself in Christ, to carry the message of the fulfilment of our judgment and salvation to all men to the ends of the earth and the end of time. The chronological dimension of the end is an expression of the fact that the end in Christ, God and man, is meant to be the one and only divine mission: The sending of the Son into the world. The history of the Church, indeed, of the world since the resurrection of Christ, has but this one meaning: that the sending of the Son, which in itself is the end, be proclaimed as the fulfilment of judgment and salvation. This mission of the Church is carried out in time and history so that time and history will be no more. It is carried out in this world so that this world may perish and be done away with. By participation in the mission of the Son of God the Church herself participates in bringing the final revelation of judgment and grace nearer. She makes, so to speak, the hands on God's clock move faster towards midnight. Thus the mission of the Church is in itself the eschatological dimension of the Church, indicating and signifying that the Church is not an end in herself, but that Christ and His reign was and is and will be the end.

A number of practical conclusions for our missionary preaching and practice are to be drawn from this christological eschatology:

We have to proclaim full and final judgment and salvation in Christ. Any hint implying that this judgment and salvation is imperfect, is conditional upon our acceptance and realization of it, is wrong and detracts from and spoils the honor of Christ who is the end in a perfect and absolute sense.

Because this absolute end was revealed in Christ, God and *man*, it has to be proclaimed to all men by men and to the end of man's history. The human side of the Holy Scriptures, of the Church and her history, must be understood as an indication of the fact that in the Son of Man has already come the end which will bring man's history to an end.

Because final salvation has come already in Christ, God and Man, the sinners who have become saints in Him are to proclaim Him with their whole life and existence, by word and deed and in every field of human life and activity. Our institutional work, our hospitals and schools, our care for the poor and homeless, the sick and the old, is sign and proof of the fact that the whole man, body and soul, has been redeemed by Christ. Christian activity is not an attempt to renew this old world of ours or to prolong its condemned life, it is a witness to

God's new world created in Christ and to be revealed when these final days of the old world will be ended and fulfilled by the mission of the Church.

Since the old world came to an end on the cross where the Son of Man vicariously and in the solidarity of love took the place of all men, our proclamation can have no other content but the death of Jesus, and our existence as a Church can but be an existence under the cross. Any attempt on the part of the Church to be more than the witnessing community under the cross, e. g., to manifest the new world in her organization and form, in her orders and her doctrine, is a denial of the fact that we are saved by the crucified Lord alone.

Any attempt on the part of the Church to separate herself from the world and to leave the world alone is a denial of the fact that the crucified Lord died once for all for all men in all the world and all time. A church without that burning and all-encompassing compassion for the world would in itself have ceased to be the Church. It would by this very act of unauthorized and selfish separation from the world have become once more a part of the world which is judged already and which will be annihilated when the end comes to an end.

Thus the mission of the Church is in itself the eschatological dimension of the church, of our individual lives and our theology, it is the finger that points in these final days to the end at the cross and to the end of time. It is a sign of our existence at the point that divides time and eternity, death and life, Satan's world and God's world. We can lose everything in this world, mission-fields and mission-property, life and honor—and lose nothing, for our real life is already there, hidden with Christ in God. What we lose had found its end in any case. At the same time we can use all things in this world, turning them into tools for the service of God, because He really so loved this dead and rebellious world that He gave His Son for this very world in its totality.

The mission of the Church can be and will be the eschatological dimension of the Church only if she remains absolutely loyal to the Gospel that in Christ, God and man, the end has come and therefore will come. Therefore the mission of the Church is inseparably linked to the Sacraments and uses the Sacraments, because this is the witness of the Sacraments of Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper: Christ, the end of this world and the beginning of the new creation, has come already. He is present now under the hiddenness of the Cross and He will come in His Glory on the last day for us and for the whole world.



## Zinzendorf's Approach to Church and Mission

On the Birth Pangs of Evangelical World Missions<sup>1</sup>

## I

Probably none but the Moravian Brethren celebrated the 250th anniversary of the birth of Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf half a decade ago as a great day to commemorate. But this commemoration offers the rest of christendom an opportunity to reassess the man's lasting influence. Today his name has largely become the mark of all that is regarded as forward-looking in church and mission: it is as much a part of the movement for an inclusive Christian *ecumene* as it is part of the history of Evangelical missions for whose initiation he was of actually crucial importance. In this latter field he may justly be counted among the great names of latter-day church history, for his epoch-making activity as a director of missions, which gave to his Brethren Community its peculiar pioneering mold, had all but incalculable historical consequences. The Danish mission historian Lorenz Bergmann therefore has good reason to call him "one of Evangelical christendom's great church fathers and prophets of mission".<sup>2</sup>

Less known but hardly less significant is Zinzendorf's place in modern theology, even though at first glance its effect is of a rather different nature. Here, too, his influence was originally restricted to his Brethren community, but through the latter it was carried far afield. True, the Count was no professional theologian, but he rightly regarded himself as "one of those who think" and from his earliest youth was interested in theological and church matters. His preaching, its mature form available to us in numerous collections of talks, thus proves to be founded in independent theological thinking whose reflective power shrinks from no problem. Such thought is devoted especially to direct practical piety and cure of souls. Consequently Zinzendorf, like the later ex-Herrnhuter Schleiermacher, insists on a clear separation from any and all "metaphysics", whether it be encountered in the guise of speculative rationalism or as church dogma. At the same time he does hold fast to certain dogmatic matter, seeking to transform it by his own monistic view of

<sup>1</sup> References (in general only for direct quotations) and bibliography given will apply in each case to a complete paragraph. For the Zinzendorf sources, cf. the listing in O. Uttendörfer, *Zinzendorfs religiöse Grundgedanken*, Herrnhut, 1935, pp. 308 f; *ibid.* for a good appendix of texts, pp. 190-298.

<sup>2</sup> L. Bergmann, *Zinzendorfs Indsats i Missionens Historie*, København, 1935, p. 117. Cf. Zinzendorf *Gedenkbuch*, E. Benz and H. Renkewitz, ed., Stuttgart, 1951.

creation and redemption. The effects of this process are discernible in theology even today.<sup>3</sup>

In his own day, the Count's theology met with general opposition, the more violent the further Zinzendorf broke away not only from failing orthodoxy but also from conservative pietism. What enabled him, a former pupil of August Hermann Francke's well-known school of the nobility, to walk his own path apart from church movements and parties was not only his extraordinary organizational activity ever urging him to new personal enterprises, but also his long-standing contact with the spiritualists and mystics of his age. Their heritage was given its own characteristic cast by the Count's extremely active mind; how much of his theology and effectiveness was based upon it has been shown by current nordic Zinzendorf research as well as by the Herrnhut scholar Otto Uttendörfer's study *Zinzendorf und die Mystik* (1951). I myself have shown in my Norwegian language discussion of *Den unge Zinzendorfs teologi* (The Young Zinzendorf's Theology) that this characteristic form is based on his own individual philosophy of religion which Zinzendorf presented even as a young Councillor of Saxony in his *Socrates*.

This early work in religious philosophy, a kind of "talks on religion addressed to the educated among those who despise it" along the lines of the later Schleiermacher, is characterized by a combination of metaphysics of the *summa bonum*, regarding God as the "highest good" of happiness-seeking man, which has been current in Western mysticism ever since Augustine, and the enquiry after the "nature of Christianity" pursued by the Enlightenment, then in its early period. Zinzendorf's answer to this question foreshadows Schleiermacher's thesis of feeling as a basic function of religion: "Religion must be something to be attained by mere feeling, without any concepts . . . Truth in the concepts matters less than truth in feeling, errors in doctrine are not as bad as those in kind . . . Intellectually perceived opinion changes with age, upbringing, and other circumstances; felt opinions are not as much subject to such changes, they tend, rather, to be strengthened by time and circumstances. . . . Revelation is absolutely essential to human feeling; to put it into comprehensible concepts is not so much necessary as it is useful."<sup>5</sup>

Along these lines, Zinzendorf speaks specifically of "feeling" or of the "human heart" ("Gemüt") as the home of religion. However, in contrast to Schleiermacher who eventually seems to adopt this as a purely formal category, Zinzendorf has in mind the blissful sensations of bridal mysticism as the proper expression of that basic function. In the preface

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my contribution to the Werner Elert memorial volume, Berlin 1955, entitled "Die Theologie des Grafen von Zinzendorf"; *ibid.* for detailed references.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Gösta Hök, *Zinzendorfs Begriff der Religion*, Uppsala and Leipzig, 1948.

<sup>5</sup> *Socrates*, 2nd ed. 1732, pp. 289f.



to his early catechetical work, *Gewisser Grund christlicher Lehre* (The Certain Foundation of Christian Doctrine), he thus speaks of mystic inward and upward contemplation, characterizing "the true kind and the nature of Christianity" by the following directive: "... regard thy bitter toil as a blessing by which outward and carnal man is rightly mortified. But restrain thy senses, preserve thy heart, seal up the well-springs of thy spirit, and forbid them to dissipate themselves in the daily round. Rest thou at home with thy Friend and let thy hidden man be trenched about against all that might confound him. Let not thyself be wrought up, much less revived, by the noise of the things of this world, and if thou must rise from outward silence unto outward work lean thyself inwardly upon the Friend, rise up to Him as a sweet odour, and hide thyself in His secret school..."<sup>6</sup>

Originally, Zinzendorf had, like Augustine, regarded this school of mystic inwardness as a succession of inward steps. By transmitting effects of grace to the soul it was to help the awakened person to let go the goods and joys of this world, thus gradually and increasingly to devote himself to the enjoyment of communion with God. After his final break with Halle pietism about 1735 however, he also turns his back on this ascetic mystic sequence; in its place he puts the "minute's pardon" of the one-time experience of grace, which we later encounter in a different form in Methodism. Zinzendorf always appealed to Luther on this, and it has earned him the reputation among average interpreters even to this day that among all the leaders of his period's revival movements it was he who was the true Lutheran. Basically, however, Zinzendorf's attempt to go beyond the others by speaking of "free grace" kept within the bounds of the era's newly awakened mysticism which influenced them all. This experience is best understood as a radical simplification of the reversal of the human desire for happiness which in the mystic tradition signifies conversion. For communion with God continues to be regarded as *fruitio Dei* along the lines of the traditional bridal mysticism; the crucial experience now occurs when a person, disillusioned by worldly pleasures, is suddenly overwhelmed by the grace offered in the Saviour as the source of greatest joy. With reference to the uniqueness of this experience it is stated occasionally that the Spirit "seeks... to catch up each person at any rate once even to the third heaven, like Paul".<sup>7</sup>

This provides the groundwork for the well-known blood and wounds theology which Zinzendorf regarded as his outstanding "favorite material" in his mature period. For bridal mysticism is here turned into a distinct Passion mysticism along the lines of Bernardian tradition which had then

<sup>6</sup> *Gewisser Grund*, preface, pp. 8f. (pages not numbered)

<sup>7</sup> *Ein und zwanzig Discurse über die Augspurgische Confession*, p. 164.

been revived primarily by Angelus Silesius, Zinzendorf's poetic ideal. The "tormented image" of the Heavenly Bridegroom presents not only the "basic design" of his community to Zinzendorf, he also regards it as the basic ecumenical theme, both suited and destined to unite the awakened Christians of all denominations, because it represented the natural creed of the "religion of the heart" founded by Christ. Zinzendorf establishes a link with Luther's doctrine by equating justifying faith with the "infatuation" of bridal and Passion mysticism. Accordingly, man is justified by "falling in love with the wounds of the Saviour, with His death and His cross, believing that his Creator is his Saviour", and salvation consists of having "one's creator as the object of one's love".<sup>8</sup>

The previously mentioned metaphysics of the highest good provides the presupposition for all this. Zinzendorf gave it a rather original interpretation. According to him, the point of redemption is to provide human nature with the spiritual "satisfaction" which is its due instead of harassing itself with the wretched joys of this world by which the devil seeks to deceive man. This requires the descent of the creator to the creature, and here the two motifs of bridal and Passion mysticism are joined by Zinzendorf in an extraordinarily impressive description of God's incarnation climaxed by the suffering and death of Christ. He regards it, however, as a necessity preordained even in creation which would have been realized regardless of sin. Correspondingly, sin is regarded not so much as subjugated will as, rather, undutiful creatureliness which longs to return to the creature's dependence, the resulting "spiritual poverty" being counted as "eternal sinfulness"—a peculiar variant of the Lutheran *simul justus et peccator*. Zinzendorf incidentally anticipates the idea, later developed by Schleiermacher, that redemption and sin are closely related to one another by God "according to the sanction established in profoundest eternity" in order "that the poor creature should be One Spirit and One Body with his creator, and that the Fall itself should provide the opportunity".<sup>9</sup>

One can hardly avoid speaking of this as a neo-Protestant development of the Augustinian notions of redemption of medieval mysticism and scholasticism. This is most clearly apparent in Zinzendorf in that man's participation in grace appears actually as a demand of human nature: "What reason shall I then give when I seek to share in the common right? . . . God, Thou hast made the world, I too am a little creature of Thine, I am a part of it, I am a human being, . . . I am satisfied with a small seed at the right moment, says the tiny bird, and I, says man, stand

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 217, 288; on this subject, cf. above all *Vier und dreißig Homiliae über die Wunden-Litanei*.

<sup>9</sup> Quotations from *Ein und zwanzig Discurse*, pp. 208, 289; on the subject of creatureliness equalling sinfulness, cf. *Gemein-Reden*, Vol. I. pp. 119f, and *Zeister Reden*, pp. 430f. and *passim*.



in need of the food which the human creature, the human spirit requires", etc. This spiritual right of man whose demand is fulfilled in that "feeding" of bridal mysticism, has been, as it were, ratified along the lines of Passion mysticism by Christ's suffering, according to Zinzendorf. Yet for this very reason it is also "bliss and happiness to be a human soul". We shall have to give a sketch of the speculative foundation for this unbroken, unified view of creation, sin, and redemption based on Jacob Böhme's theosophy which Zinzendorf provided when we come to the inferences which he drew from his total approach for church and mission.<sup>10</sup>

## II

It is particularly in Zinzendorf's concept of the Church that you cannot but observe how he operates with a strange form of *analogia entis*, a peculiar variation of that theosophical speculation. It is concerned, above all, with christology, the active core of this theology which also determines his views of our church community. The bridal mysticism which we have pointed out also finds here its proper foundation, for by means of analogy Zinzendorf seeks to understand God and man, heaven and earth, time and eternity in a manner which calls to mind Böhme's peculiar sex metaphysics. Thus Christ is regarded as the "soul-husband" of all men precisely because He even as creator embodies, as it were, the masculine principle of existence: "He has created all the souls; the soul is His wife. He has not formed any *animos*, any male souls, among human souls, but only *animas*, feminine souls that are His bride, female candidates for rest in His arm, for the eternal dormitory: . . . in the realm of the spirits there is but one single man who regards us as Esthers and we ourselves as sisters." In redemption He then meets every soul as "its humanity's husband" in His human shape of sorrows; for it is as such in particular that He has proved Himself as Saviour by His suffering. This, in turn, is the subject of the Passion mysticism that we have already mentioned.<sup>11</sup>

This metaphysics betrays its affinity to Jakob Böhme also by regarding the division of humanity into two sexes as a consequence of the Fall. It provides the frame for Zinzendorf's talk of the "original and prime congregation in heaven and its mold on earth", involving the Divine Trinity as the first cause of this inclusive analogical relationship. The relationship of original and copy is applied not only to the Herrnhut community which he regards as the "model" of the bridal community at the end of time but also to the Herrnhut "community marriage" which, in its turn, serves as a sacramental representation of the "soul marriage" between the Heavenly Bridegroom and the community or the individual soul. Along

<sup>10</sup> Quotations from *Gemein-Reden*, Vol. I. pp. 161f; *Lond. Reden*, pp. 106ff.

<sup>11</sup> Quotations from *Zeister Reden*, pp. 208f; *Vier und dreißig Homiliae*, p. 286.

these lines, Zinzendorf speaks of "the proper and entire purpose of the matrimony of the children of God being the representation of Jesus and the community". But even beyond this, matrimony hallowed by grace, just as the community which embraces it, is actually to serve as an image of the interdivine community of love, with husband, wife, and their child providing "something like a little model" of the Trinity in their capacity as a "divine family", with the Spirit being represented as "God's spouse" and "mother". In this double meaning, with matrimony comprehended as an image and medium of bridal mysticism on the one hand, and as an illustrative means to multiply the community by specially favored begetting of children on the other, "communion marriage" played an uncommonly important role in the first Herrnhut colonies, a role whose religio-sociological import we cannot further investigate here. What we are interested in in this context is simply the basic importance which Zinzendorf ascribed to the analogical relationship of nature and grace which we have described in regard to the idea of community.<sup>12</sup>

This analogical relationship is best illustrated by his ascetic, mystic concept of marriage as a sacramental elevation and integration of nature by grace; not in vain is matrimony counted as "*a primum principium . . . of the whole cause of the communion, a root of the communion tree*". The sacramental mission of marriage is primarily that conjugal communion as such should transmit a special "feeling of grace" in accord with bridal mysticism; a common bridal love of God is to take the place of sensual sexual desire, according to Zinzendorf's repeated demand. In this manner, matrimonial life is constructed "liturgically", with the husband seen as "Vice-Christ" or representative of the Saviour, the wife as a representative of the congregation. Baptism and Holy Communion are both regarded as sacraments *par excellence*, with the Holy Communion interpreted as "the sacrament of somatic union" symbolizing a spiritual "embrace of the Bridegroom".<sup>13</sup>

In this way, the elements of the so-called order of creation and of the order of grace find themselves, with Zinzendorf, in a higher unity which must serve as a temporal "model" of the eternal first relationship of God and man. In a theocratic sense, this forms the center of all human life with "communion of Christians and communion of citizens"—to use one of Karl Barth's formulations—acting jointly to realize and spread the spiritual brotherhood that exists in Christ. Whatever does not seem to fit into this scheme, such as the adiaphora proscribed by pietism, or what-

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Gemein-Reden*, Vol. I, pp. 77ff, 96ff, 122ff; also *Pennsylv. Reden*, Vol. I, pp. 38ff. Details on Herrnhut's religious sociology in O. Uttendörfer, *Alt-Herrnhut*, Vols. I-II, Herrnhut, 1925-26.

<sup>13</sup> Quotations from *Zeister Reden*, p. 207; *Gemein-Reden*, Vol. I, p. 134; *Ein und zwanzig Discurse*, pp. 207, 295; on the subject of sexual desire, cf. Aug. Gottl. Spangenberg, *Apolog. Schluß-Schrift*, pp. 607ff; also Wilh. Jannasch, *Erdmuthe Dorothea Gräfin von Zinzendorf*, Herrnhut, 1915.



ever cannot be put into its service, such as worldly administration and jurisdiction, is eliminated from the Herrnhut colonies or, where possible, replaced by something else. In Herrnhut itself this was made possible simply by the fact that Zinzendorf, as a count and lord of the manor could exercise and unite both temporal and spiritual power in his capacity as "*Ordinarius fratrū*"; the then obtaining conditions of sovereignty made it possible to arrange such a form of administration also for the daughter congregations. Greater difficulties were created by Quaker-like traits like the refusal to take oaths or military service which were of some importance to Zinzendorf's co-workers. Yet even on this the Brethren managed to achieve a largely privileged position by arrangements with their sovereign.<sup>14</sup>

All this shows clearly enough that we are here dealing with symptoms which have rather little to do with the thought and attitude of Lutheranism on church structure. The same becomes evident at a different approach, namely if we consider certain views which the Count and his congregation shared with the more or less enthusiastic movements of the day. Zinzendorf took up early contact with radical pietism and its related manifestations. Even though in principle he felt he must reject the revolutionary separatism of these circles, he yet shared with them the dream, going back to Jacob Böhme, of a new pneumatic church era which was to put an end to the traditional "religions" and their confessional contentions. In harmony with a wide-spread trend of the period, he speaks in this sense of the new "Philadelphia" which is destined to unite all true Christians beyond confessional barriers. The confessional churches are regarded as mere civil institutions under traditional state sponsorship whose civil servants have a task in public education as "moral teachers of the baptized pagans"; they must not, however, be confused with the Church of Jesus Christ. Only the small groups of awakened Christians have hitherto been the Church in the true sense of the word: "But now we are entering the era of communities when God's children will unite with a purpose".<sup>15</sup>

Zinzendorf sought at first to maintain Herrnhut as "a free Christian society" within the Lutheran Church of his territory, and on this he appeals to Spener's idea of an *ecclesiola in ecclesia* as well as to Luther's well-known remarks in the preface to the *German Mass*. However, in his opinion, the communion's basic relationship to the territorial church was no different from that of the Apostolic church to the Jewish Synagogue. Consequently he speaks of the future day "when you become a separatist

<sup>14</sup> On the concept of "Theokratie", see Zinzendorf in *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte*, Vol. III, p. 207; *Vier und dreißig Homiliae*, p. 221. Also O. Uttendörfer, *Zinzendorf's christliches Lebensideal*, Gnadau, 1940, pp. 40ff, esp. p. 54.

<sup>15</sup> Quotations from *Socrates*, p. 170; *Berliner Reden an die Männer*, p. 201; cf. documentation and appraisal of Zinzendorf's Philadelphia idea in Joh. Albr. Bengel, *Abriß der sogenannten Brüdergemeine*, reprinted Berlin, 1858, pp. 143ff.

from Babel with honor" because "all concern, patience, and loyalty" for a secularized church can no longer have any purpose. During the so-called "time of sifting" in the 40's of the 18th century he spoke, in enthusiastic expectation of the imminent philadelphic end period, of the Herrnhut revival as a "visitation of the whole world" applying the "character of a prophet" to himself and his revivalistic activity: "a prophet has his parish all over the world". He even spoke of a first coming again of Christ "*in silentio et pleura*" which had supposedly occurred within the community. A reminder of this was the peculiar practice during these years of regarding the Saviour as the community's General Elder, "keeping an empty chair at His disposal at all conferences".<sup>16</sup>

As is apparent from this "congregational chiliasm" and the concept of church history which it involved, Zinzendorf counted on an inevitable intellectual development, differing from Gottfried Arnold's *Impartial History of the Church and Heretics*. But he was later unable to give up the idea of an "apostolic community that knows no members but those whom Jesus has truly accepted" which from the beginning he had associated with the founding of Herrnhut and which together with Arnold he had pleaded against "the sectarianism of the orthodox". The realization of such an ideal, not simply by re-establishing the conditions of the Apostolic age, but as the end-of-time Philadelphia ever remains for him the task of the "religion of the Brethren". He always quotes the popular phrase from John 17:21, "the Saviour's testament", as the program of his ecumenical activity. At the same time he wants to concede a temporary right of existence to the denominations by regarding them as "*Tropos Poedias*", that is as theological pedagogic schools that have arisen "from the manifold variety of human heads" but have no relationship "at all to the heart". He therefore wished to see confessional differences preserved within the community, but at the same time introduced an inclusive common communion among Lutherans, the Reformed, and the Moravian Brethren from the old *Unitas Fratrum*.<sup>17</sup>

Despite this tropistic principle, Zinzendorf granted the Lutheran confession what amounted to a privileged position: As a particularly appropriate expression of the "religion of the heart" that has been referred to, it was best suited for the position of a joint confession: "Our united little band naturally supported union, . . . for among themselves they soon no longer thought of any religious differences but were extraordinarily

<sup>16</sup> Quotations from *Pennsylv. Reden* Vol. II, pp. 142, 66f; Vol. I, p. 3; also from Samuel Eberhard, *Kreuzes-Theologie*, München, 1937, pp. 211ff. On the society and ecclesiola concept, cf. *Natur. Reflexiones*, pp. 50f., 157, 345; *ibid.* for rejection of mere "private convents", p. 232. Cf., besides, the relevant sections of Bernh. Becker, *Zinzendorf im Verhältnis zu Philosophie und Kirchentum seiner Zeit*, Leipzig, 1886.

<sup>17</sup> Quotations from *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte*, Vol. VI, p. 231; *Gewisser Grund*, preface p. 5 (not numbered); *Natur. Reflexiones*, pp. 306, 359; *ibid.* appendix p. 60; also O. Uttendörfer, *Zinzendorfs Weltbetrachtung*, Berlin, 1929, pp. 74ff.



happy with Evangelical Lutheran religious practice". Accordingly, he interpreted the 21 doctrinal articles of the *Confessio Augustana* which were adopted as a sort of norm for the teachings of the Brethren Community in 1748 as an expression of all "that a heart, completely in love with the Saviour and blissful" might find in such a confession.<sup>18</sup>

The community's theocratic order, then long since laid down by statutes, was traced back by Zinzendorf to "the Moravian constitutions". The discipline it established was somewhat rigorous (involving, for instance, corporal punishment), and not without reason has Herrnhut theocracy been compared to Calvin's Genevan *civitas Dei*. How little ground there actually was, however, for this comparison is apparent from the fact that the disciplinary measures were primarily intended to maintain a meticulous separation of the sexes outside the matrimonial relationship. Such separation was for Zinzendorf a "regular tenet *stantis et cadentis Ecclesiae nostrae*"; it gave almost monastic character to these former Herrnhut colonies with their "choruses" divided according to sex, age, and married or single state. For Zinzendorf, this monastic narrowness was not merely a particular obvious expression of his ascetic mystic ideal of life; above all it provided the Count with a unique opportunity to establish a pioneer congregation ready for missionary service at home as well as in the far-flung world.<sup>19</sup>

### III

Zinzendorfs' interest in missions, whose nature should be understood on the basis of the above, was aroused even in his infancy and early youth among the Halle pietists. At that time Francke had sent the first missionaries to East India under the sovereign protection and care of the Danish king, and after that Zinzendorf had not only become acquainted with the first *Hallesche Missionsnachrichten* (Halle mission reports), but he had also witnessed a visit of the first two emissaries to India at Halle. At that time he formed the plan to found a society that should also contribute its share "to the conversion of the heathen". When, after several such attempts after 1722, this scheme took on more definite shape at Herrnhut, Zinzendorf from the outset kept missions among the pagans in mind. Thus the Herrnhut revival very early took on the character of a missionary revival. The "embassies" which travelled into diverse regions and countries of christendom from the first year of the revival (1727) in order to prepare the ground for the extensive later diaspora work of the

<sup>18</sup> Quotations from *Natur. Reflexiones*, appendix, p. 10; *Ein und zwanzig Discurse*, preface, p. 3 (not numbered). Further details in Jos. Th. Müller, "Das Bekenntnis in der Brüdergemeinde", *Zeitschrift für die Brüdergeschichte*, Vol. III, pp. 1ff.

<sup>19</sup> Quotations from *Theolog. Bedenken*, preface, p. 43; *Natur. Reflexiones*, p. 309. Further particulars in O. Uttendörfer, *Alt-Herrnhut*, Vol. II. pp. 189ff, 451f.

Community of Brethren were, at the same time, some sort of harbingers of future missionary activity. The "chorus of unmarried brethren" which with its chorus house was to become a kind of training center for Herrnhut missionaries also dates from this initial period.<sup>20</sup>

Herrnhut's first messengers to the heathen were sent out as early as the beginning thirties to the then Danish possessions in the West Indies and Greenland, because a favorable opportunity offered itself there. Because of his blood relationship to the Danish royal house, Zinzendorf had long since hoped to make Copenhagen the center of his philadelphic and missionary activity. This miscarried because of his break with Halle pietism which put him out of favor with the Copenhagen court, though he did not have to give up the Danish mission territories. When they were thus relieved of consideration for the revival groups that still thought and operated within the orthodox Lutheran church orbit, the Herrnhuters followed their own road all the more firmly, in this matter as well. Apart from an attempt to missionize in Swedish Lapland, Zinzendorf now turned his missionary interest primarily towards the foreign continents. Here the mission of the Brethren, now thrown back upon its own truly wretched resources, achieved amazing results by its native "impulse to witness" even in the Count's lifetime. We must content ourselves here with mentioning the sympathetically attuned account of this mission activity given by the Herrnhut mission historian Karl Müller in *200 Jahre Brüdermission*, Vol. I (1931).<sup>21</sup>

If we turn to Zinzendorf's views on mission theology, which on the whole are substantiated quite thoroughly by Müller, we must once again fall back upon his basic presuppositions which, here too, were put characteristically into effect. A direct consequence of the previously cited metaphysics of the *summum bonum* as presented by Zinzendorf is that you ascribe to natural man a secret yearning for God, the "highest good", which can be used as an opening for the Gospel of the Creator-Redeemer. This allows Zinzendorf to speak of an actual awakening of the true consciousness of God which is said to be occurring in the bosom of paganism without the preaching of the Gospel in preparation for bridal mysticism: "... a poor man who has forgotten, who does not know that he might, and ought to, sleep in his creator's arms; he recollects, not in words for it must be revealed to him, but just this same thing without words, a spiritual unrest, a spiritual ache, a spiritual longing for arms, for an embrace, for a marriage, for a husband, without ever querying

<sup>20</sup> Quotation from *Natur. Reflexiones*, appendix p. 7; on the young Zinzendorf's idea for the foundation, cf. Gerh. Reichel, *Die Anfänge Herrnhuts*, Herrnhut, 1922.

<sup>21</sup> On the "impulse to witness" cf. K. Müller, *Zeugentrieb*, pp. 275ff; on the relations with Copenhagen cf. L. Bergmann, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp. 25ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Gemein-Reden*, Vol. I, p. 113.



whether there might possibly be such a one: something like this would happen to a savage in the bush; something like this would happen to a heathen in Monomotapa".<sup>22</sup>

That the Count is here not merely concerned with a hypothesis in the philosophy of religion is apparent because he relates it to a strange opinion of the Holy Spirit's action: "For even one not baptized, a savage in the bush, has a *human*, i. e., most needful instinct, and if the Holy Spirit is added with a memory *à sa manière*, and man . . . covets Him, falls into desire for an unknown highest good, that is, for his creator, he will surely find whom he seeks, his angel, his signpost", that is, the proclamation of the Gospel will somehow get to him. If the Spirit is thus regarded as a mediator between the revived yearning of paganism and the Gospel, it is even more remarkable that, according to Zinzendorf's repeatedly expressed opinion, the Spirit's testimony is not tied to the external word of proclamation. On the contrary, he actually speaks of the omnipresent effectiveness of the Redeemer and His Spirit which may reveal itself in the heart as a sort of sermon "even though they speak not a word". Moreover, it is quite generally true of preaching "that the effect of the Holy Spirit generally precedes" and that the external word is consequently added merely as a supplementary exposition of the inward word of the Spirit: "As you know, we hold to the principle that we do not preach one who is dead, and this makes our work amazingly simple, pretty, and reasonable. Whenever the Saviour sends us to someone, there is sure to be a soul in that same house who has need of counsel, of an explication of the Holy Spirit's message in her heart. And there we are right present to articulate in human words what had already been divinely indicated within a soul."<sup>23</sup>

What Zinzendorf has in mind is not the ordinary preaching of "salaried parsons and teachers" but the live testimony of revival which passes from one person to the next: "... grace circulates; you inform each other, one person tells another". The course of spiritual procreation and birth must be imagined somewhat as follows: "The Saviour makes the offer, the Holy Spirit is available for it throughout the world, and if but the least bit of the longing that He works cleaves to a soul: O were I but saved! . . . in that moment He creates an opportunity for a soul and brings a syllable, or a word, a line of the Gospel, i. e., foundation-stirring and salvation-bringing truths, close to that person's heart, without his own doing, without preparation and makes a blessed heart of it, right in our midst". Only after a person has thus become "a member of the invisible Church" is the outward testimony of proclamation added in order to take the child of

<sup>23</sup> Quotations from *Ein und zwanzig Discurse*, pp. 228ff; *Lond.-Pred.*, Vol. I. p. 70; *Vier und dreißig Homilien*, p. 275. See also G. Hök, *op. cit.* (note 4) pp. 61ff.

God already born of the Spirit into the visible congregation: "... the word falls into a prepared field, into soil that is worked, and is nothing but an explanation of the truth already embedded in the heart. It is not the procreation, it is not the birth, it is, rather, the first food of the living heart".<sup>24</sup>

In this manner Zinzendorf conceives of the inward testimony of the Spirit as nothing less than the harbinger and the preparer of the road of the proclamation of the Gospel in such a manner that it precedes wherever revival enters the lists, be it in the realm of christendom (diaspora work!) or in the mission field. He even speaks of a general descent of the Holy Spirit which has long since taken place as a first result of the redemption that occurred in Christ, gradually taking its effect in revivals: "Once again he soared over the whole world as at the time of creation, and thenceforth he has continuously been active over human hearts: coming to be perceived at times here and at times there." Just as orthodoxy spoke of the christianization of the whole pagan world in the Apostolic age, later undone, so Zinzendorf in this connection speaks of an inclusive time of revival which has already once placed the present-day heathen peoples under the action of the Spirit: "They have experienced their *periodos*, their *epochas*, their times of grace in full measure".<sup>25</sup>

In the present however, Zinzendorf sees the approach of the last great period of revival which in the end will again encompass the whole pagan world. Just as he envisages the "period of the communities" in the Herrnhut revival and diaspora work as the harbinger of a renewed and united christendom, so the Herrnhut mission among the heathen is to him a sign of the approaching "period of the heathen" which will bring the adoption of the pagan peoples into the bridal community of the end-of-time. This will however, he thinks, be preceded by the conversion of the Jews, to which end he constantly advocated the establishment of a mission to the Jews, without however much success in this matter. For the rest, he considered his own period, as is clear from the foregoing, as still a part of the era of "religions" (i. e., of confessional churches) even if as such it was drawing to a close. That is why he always rejected as untimely any public evangelism, for it would serve only the maintenance and spread of the confessions. In contrast, as a mission director he urged the practice of individual conversion by which some "first fruits" from the heathen nations might be won: "Our heathen institutions that have already grown into various communities of diverse nations quite generally consisted of nothing at the outset, except that we departed for such

<sup>24</sup> Quotations from *Pennsylv. Reden*, Vol. I, p. 3; *Sieben letzte Reden*, p. 60; *Ein und zwanzig Discourse*, pp. 226f; *Lorid. Reden*, p. 92.

<sup>25</sup> Quotations from *Ein und zwanzig Discourse*, p. 161. On the attitude of older orthodoxy, cf. Olav Guttorm Myklebust, *The Study of Missions in Theological Education*, Oslo, 1955. Vol. I, p. 42.



regions when opportunity beckoned. Following our own conditions we sought to find out in faithful patience whether perhaps the Holy Spirit had told one or the other of them something into his heart to which our *éclaircissement* and further explanation might be *à propos*. As soon as we had found out that much, we opened our mouth and have found open ears".<sup>26</sup>

A relationship with that period's enthusiastic spiritualism can hardly be denied: in the general traits, too, our exposition may have shown to what extent Zinzendorf went outside the doctrine and church practice of Lutheranism in many respects. We shall nevertheless not deny truly prophetic character to his peculiar approach to church and mission history. His expectation of the conversion of the Jews as a preliminary to a general conversion of the heathen will perhaps meet with more universal appreciation today than it did then. Our historical experience has likewise opened our ears to the gloomy forecast for Western christendom which he made in the course of his ideas on mission: "Perhaps when all the lands wherein the Christians now dwell shall have fallen back entirely into paganism: perhaps then shall strike the hour of Africa, Asia, and America".<sup>27</sup>

That is why, instead of a comprehensive critical judgment of Zinzendorf, we should prefer to point to some words that Karl Holl once offered on the relationship of Lutheranism to the enthusiasts, in which he asserts that "the enthusiasts, too, had their mission". "They had" so says the great German church historian, "their place wherever in the Reformation churches people forgot to penetrate beyond the dogmatic formulas to the issue, that is to God, or wherever Lutheranism was in danger of becoming static under the church government of territorial princes". In order to judge Zinzendorf's theology and actions rightly, you must know that this danger had largely become a reality in his time. An enthusiast in the narrower sense of the word he never was; and the characteristic determination with which he regarded his community as "*medulla mundi*" certainly enabled him to break through the barriers of a church gone bourgeois, and to open new paths. This put him in a position to provide Evangelical missions with the impetus they had lacked thus far, as the Swedish mission historian Knut B. Westman rightly remarks. To be sure, this did not make him a reformer of Lutheranism, but it did make of him a sign of the times that like few others compels us to reflection.

<sup>26</sup> *Natur. Reflexiones*, p. 358; cf. the rejection of a "formal conversion of the heathen", *Zeister Reden*, pp. 173f, also p. 446. More in K. Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 263ff. On Zinzendorf and Jewish missions, cf. Gustav Dalman and Adolf Schulze, *Zinzendorf und Lieberbühn*, Leipzig, 1903.

<sup>27</sup> *Zeister Reden*, p. 189.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, Tübingen 1927, Vol. I, 4-5th ed., p. 467; K. B. Westmann, "Folkkyrkor i missionshistorien", *Ordet och tron*, Einar-Billing memorial volume, Stockholm, 1931, p. 157. On the Brethren Community as "*Medulla Mundi*", cf. *Natur. Reflexiones*, appendix, p. 58.

# FROM THE WORK OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION AND THE ECUMENICAL WORLD

## GENEVA DIARY

A number of possibilities occurred last summer for the meeting of commissions and committees of both the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches. It has become customary now to hold such international meetings during the summer months, and this gives excellent opportunities for wider contacts and better working relationships. In characterizing developments within the LWF as it engages in its study and program of action, I would like to emphasize the fact that these commission meetings indicate a possibility for closer acquaintance with the life of the churches. One of the main objectives of our Federation is that the churches should know more about each other, their theology, their church life, their problems. Such sessions as have been held this summer have indicated that we have moved in the direction of bringing our congregations and pastors into touch with one another in a very vital and living way.

Such meetings also mean that our thinking can begin to move in the same direction and along the same lines. This was most clearly illustrated in the Commission on Inner Missions which met for the first time since the 1952 Assembly with extremely diverse backgrounds and with entirely different problems in each situation. The Commission members quickly found themselves debating issues which were common to all. Even more interesting was the fact that the discussion clearly tended to drive us to discover the origins of our faith and belief and how these origins were now reflected in the principles and practices of inner missions in each country. As usual, such meetings reveal quite clearly the urgency for even more study and information and for the desirability of more frequent interchange of thought and ideas in each realm of church life. It is true not only of inner missions but of every aspect of our congregational work that we need to be able to share our thoughts and plans in such a way that they will be mutually beneficial. As our churches have begun to come out of their isolation we sense more and more the value of frequent discussions and more careful study.

The Commission on World Missions had before it the very real problem of giving guidance to the churches and missions in South Africa. It was the first time that a sub-committee had been brought together to face directly and openly the many issues that prevail in that situation. Here again is the question of the nature of Lutheran unity and co-operation and the broader question of relationships to other Christian churches of that area. Overshadowing both these problems is the particular approach to the question of race. As of this moment our Lutheran groups do not pretend to have any special solution to the latter question. The Commission, through this study, found it possible to indicate certain lines along which both churches and missions might work in that area of the world in order to advance the Christian witness.<sup>1</sup>

The Commission on World Missions also found itself dealing with specific items in each area of the world which drove the members into a consideration of basic principles and of Lutheran theology. It is a healthy thing in this Commission that

<sup>1</sup> cf. "The Recommendations of the Committee on South Africa", *Lutheran World*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 162 f.



it can apply a high degree of useful theoretical study to particular points and situations. In such a merger of idea and action there is the greatest interplay of impulses from Asia, Africa, and the churches of the West.

It has become the practice of the Commission on World Service to meet in countries where there has been a program of aid going on for some time. This year the Commission came face to face with the very complex situation of our four Lutheran churches in Yugoslavia. It was the first time in our brief history that LWF leaders and pastors of the four churches could face to face discuss not only the immediate urgent needs of the churches, but also the nature and the development of the churches in a country like Yugoslavia. The traditions and histories of these groups sometimes militate against the most effective degree of co-operation and unity. However, it is true that through contacts with member churches of the Federation and through assistance received in the form of rebuilding of churches, aid to pastors, printing of Christian literature, there is a heightened sense of belonging to each other as members of the Family of the Reformation and as brethren in Christ. It again became clear in the Commission on World Service that each year marks a shift in emphasis in the vast program of Inter-Church Aid. For the Lutheran Church it is quite clear that the problem of resettlement of Lutheran refugees is approaching a solution which will reduce the amount of money needed and the number of personnel. The problem of refugees in areas of the world other than Europe is still as acute and real as ever. The healthy development of co-operation between the work of World Missions and World Service will be an interesting situation to watch in the next few years. At this point it might be well to observe that the World Council of Churches has, in this period, launched a vast study program in dealing with areas of rapid social change. It became quite clear in the discussions of the WCC Central Committee in Davos, Switzerland, that all of the churches must now begin to think not only in terms of an emergency resulting from war but in terms of human need wherever it exists. Our pioneer missionaries have understood this problem from the beginning, but the Church as such is now beginning to realize that it has obligations far beyond the Western world and in cases of extreme emergencies.

\* \* \*

The 1957 Assembly will be upon us in less than 24 months. The Commission on Theology has been assigned the responsibility of developing the study document on the main theme—"Christ Frees and Unites". After discussions at meetings in Hildesheim, Hamburg, and Strasbourg the Commission has now before it the work of putting into written form a document which can help the member churches, theological faculties, pastors, and congregations to engage in a fruitful conversation. The document which will survey the background of this theme will also point to certain areas of concern which need to be clarified among ourselves. It is the hope of the Federation that in our next Assembly we can arrive at some consensus as to the nature of Christian unity. If we succeed, such a contribution will be helpful not only to the Lutheran churches but will advance the whole ecumenical discussion. There is a keen sense of responsibility towards the Lutheran family and towards the whole of Christendom.

In addition to the study document, special pamphlets will be issued on the situation of our Lutheran churches by continents and by areas. The LWF is happy to announce that there will be brief pamphlets on South America, North America, Africa, Asia, Central Europe, and Northern Europe. Those who read these pamphlets should be able to get a perspective of what the status of our churches is in these various regions. It is our hope that such surveys will include a brief historical section, the present conditions under which the Church is working, its missionary task, and its inner life.

Another aspect of the preparation for the Assembly is the planning of pre-Assembly conferences in the USA. At the present time conferences are contemplated

for theological professors, for world missions, inner missions, students, youth and education. Such pre-Assembly meetings will give opportunity for both non-Americans and Americans to compare notes and to discuss prevailing issues. It will also make it possible for the Assembly to direct all of its attention to the main theme and the study document. We hope, therefore, that the days that we spend in the Assembly will be fruitful in directing full energy and attention to this one topic.

\* \* \*

This magazine, LUTHERAN WORLD, is now completing its second year. We are pleased that after such a short time the number of subscribers has increased in a very satisfactory way. We believe that this indicates that there is a place for an organ of this kind among our churches and on the present scene.

The editor of the LUTHERAN WORLD has now been appointed to serve not only as the Director of the Department of Information of the LWF, but also as a Director of the Evangelical Academy in Luccum. Dr. Bolewski will thus be able to come into closer contact with the life of the church and its trends and also to share in the work of the LWF. We believe that this will bring to the LUTHERAN WORLD even more helpful impulses that will lead to a greater vitality for our journal. With this change we also expect to make further use of added personnel in the headquarters to provide better news coverage. It has been interesting to note how well the most recently established Department has found its profile and its place in the total work of our Federation.

Carl E. Lund-Quist



## World Missions

### Lutheran Mission Statistics

Statistics and reports received from Africa and Asia by the LWF Department of World Missions for the year 1954 indicate growth in most churches and Lutheran mission programs on those continents. With some exceptions the picture of Lutheranism received from twenty-eight countries and the European and American missionary agencies working in them belies the oft-heard suggestion that the period of Christian mission-

ary expansion which blossomed in the 19th century is now reaching its end.

Two and one quarter million Lutheran Christians are reported on the two continents. The large majority of them belong to churches affiliated with the Lutheran World Federation. Statistics are in some cases incomplete, the largest single body unaccounted for being the Lutheran Church of China, whose 100,000 Christians (before the curtain closed on them) have of late years had no relationship with churches abroad.

The following tables present figures as received, by major geographical divisions:

#### AFRICA

| Country                                   | Membership     |
|---|----------------|
| Egypt                                     | *              |
| Eritrea                                   | 4,236 (est.)   |
| Ethiopia                                  | 6,170 (est.)   |
| French Eq. Africa<br>(including Cameroun) | 8,522          |
| Kenya                                     | *              |
| Liberia                                   | 2,781          |
| Madagascar                                | 201,182        |
| Morocco                                   | *              |
| Nigeria                                   | 34,881         |
| Rhodesia, Northern                        | *              |
| Rhodesia, Southern                        | 8,175          |
| S. Africa, Union of                       | 295,970        |
| Southwest Africa                          | 86,459         |
| Tanganyika                                | 236,639        |
| <b>Total</b>                              | <b>885,015</b> |

\* No reports received

Of these the following churches, with a total baptized membership of 1,485,452, are constituent bodies of the LWF:

|  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church      | 7,024            |
| Huria Kristen Batak Protestant         | 600,000 (est.)   |
| Seven churches in India                | 578,737          |
| Lutheran Church of Madagascar          | 201,182          |
| Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika | 99,509           |
| <b>Total</b>                           | <b>1,486,452</b> |

#### ASIA

| Country                    | Membership       |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| Israel                     | 94               |
| Jordan                     | 1,150            |
| Syria                      | 158              |
| Lebanon                    | 200              |
| Saudi Arabia               | 5                |
| Iraq                       | *                |
| Pakistan                   | 715              |
| India                      | 617,292          |
| Indonesia                  | 606,000 (est.)   |
| Hongkong                   | 3,275            |
| Taiwan                     | 2,081            |
| Japan                      | 9,066            |
| Philippines                | 1,738            |
| New Guinea                 | 143,719          |
| Malaya                     | *                |
| People's Republic of China | *                |
| <b>Total</b>               | <b>1,385,493</b> |

Another 723,995 are related to the LWF indirectly through their parent missionary organizations.

Related to Lutheran churches not affiliated with the LWF (Synodical Conference churches and Church of the Lutheran Brethren) are 61,061 Christians.

The oldest of these non-occidental churches, the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church in India, celebrates its 250th Jubilee at Tranquebar next January. The youngest missionary effort is work opened by the Icelandic Missionary Society in Ethiopia in 1954.

The largest church is the Huria Kristen Batak Protestant, whose six hundred

thousand members centered about Lake Toba, Sumatra, make up a third of one of the most influential tribal groups in Indonesia. It is the largest of the "younger" Protestant church bodies. As for the smallest—several missionary efforts are so new that no baptisms have yet taken place.

Church organization is difficult to define and varies greatly in form. Some churches are completely autonomous with only tenuous ties to mission societies. At the other extreme are mission fields, not all of them newly opened, still completely under the control of missionary leadership; in such cases theirs is a mission rather than a church organization. In an increasing number of cases several missions labor together in one field, sharing the task of establishing a single Lutheran church in a given area. Of churches (including, where there are no established church bodies, the missions) there are on the two continents 71 reporting: 35 in Africa, 36 in Asia.

These bodies reported 8407 organized congregations and 6196 preaching places without local organizations. They are served by 1519 ordained pastors assisted by 22,151 full and part-time, paid and voluntary evangelistic workers.

Sunday Schools number 5,475 with 248,318 students. These figures indicate that the use of the Sunday School as a means of evangelism and parochial training is far from universal and could be exploited to far greater advantage than is the case.

But the picture is not complete until one is aware of the truly tremendous contribution being made by the general educational program of the Lutheran churches in Asia and Africa. Nearly half a million young people are getting their primary, secondary, or higher education at schools owned or operated by the Lutheran churches and missions. The number of schools, from kindergartens to universities, reaches the impressive figure of 5,889, with a total of 487,064 students enrolled. The place of missions in general education in the non-occidental countries is no longer as impressive as was once the case, for the governments without exception are making strenuous

efforts to provide modern education for their youth. With larger resources and an increasing pool of teachers, the public schools are in some cases displacing mission institutions. Nevertheless, mission schools continue where possible, and it is apparent that the younger churches as well as missions themselves realize the paramount importance, particularly in non-Christian countries, of providing Christian education.

Training for the ministry and lay services to the church goes on in twenty-two theological colleges (589 students) and 47 Bible schools (1613 students). The educational standards of these schools range from university to lower secondary school levels. Reports indicate a universal concern for a better grounded ministry as popular educational standards rise. In New Guinea, the mission field where the people are perhaps closest to primitive savagery, a theological seminary is now being projected.

No statistics are available, but there is no doubt that there are more young Christians from our Asian and African churches studying in Europe and America than ever before. It is believed that this number will and should grow—though there is equally general agreement that were institutions of satisfactory standards available, church leaders would do better to study in their own environments.

Medical work, traditionally a part of the missionary ministry, is carried on in almost every church and mission field; it is a kind of work where missions can and will continue to contribute their specialized skills and financial aid after both churches and schools are supported wholly by the younger churches themselves. Obviously incomplete reporting gives a total of 232 general hospitals and out-patient clinics, which treated in 1954 1,150,000 patients. Fifteen nursing schools attached to hospitals had some 500 students. In addition, missions and churches operated in the field of welfare: leprosy colonies; homes for old people, widows (India), and the blind; orphanages and crippled childrens' homes. There were trade schools and shops, agricultural experiment stations, and sewing classes. In South India, the Church of Sweden Mis-



sion was carrying on a highly successful well-drilling project.

In a world that is rapidly learning to read, the missions and churches were in 1954 working at all manner of publishing ventures—from Sunday School courses via theological and liturgical works to film strips. Seventeen mission printing plants were insufficient to do the work, and most printing was apparently done commercially. Fifty-two periodicals—from theological journals to local church papers—came out regularly in editions up to 8,000. —119 books and pamphlets were reported. Few, however, seem to have

been original works. Missions in New Guinea and Liberia reported work in adult literacy. Literary work of all kinds, reports indicate, is regarded as of extreme importance and apparently of even greater difficulty, for it is expensive and demands highly specialized talents and training. The churches can scarcely be satisfied in this day with the present production and distribution of Christian literature.

Reports were received of fifty-three Lutheran boards and societies working on fields in Africa and Asia. The list follows:

|                | Boards<br>And<br>Societies | Number of personnel abroad |       |
|----------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------|
|                |                            | Ordained                   | Lay   |
| International  | 2                          | 23                         | 77    |
| Finland        | 2                          | 30                         | 111   |
| Sweden         | 5                          | 81                         | 277   |
| Norway         | 6                          | 140                        | 314   |
| Denmark        | 7                          | 26                         | 137   |
| Iceland        | 1                          | 1                          | 1     |
| Germany        | 12                         | 143                        | 237   |
| Holland        | 1                          | 1                          | 1     |
| France         | 2                          | 3                          | 1     |
| USA and Canada | 13                         | 420                        | 1,015 |
| Australia      | 1                          | 5                          | 68    |
| India          | 1                          | 1                          | 1     |
|                | 53                         | 874                        | 2,240 |
| TOTAL 3,114    |                            |                            |       |

It should be noted that certain sections of the work in Tanganyika are administered by the Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions of the National Lutheran Council in the United States, and personnel and financial assistance in a number of African and Asian countries are afforded by the Lutheran World Federation's Department of World Missions.

It should be noted that mission programs in Latin America, where many American boards have work, are excluded from these statistics. It is hoped that a report from this part of the world may be included in a forthcoming issue of the *Lutheran World*. Except for East Germany, Lutheran churches from Eastern European countries have reported no mission work abroad.

The highest ratio of missionaries in any Lutheran group is that of the Lutheran Brethren, who have a missionary for each one hundred members of the church. American boards account for almost 50% of the total number of missionaries.

Almost without exception, sending agencies reported more missionaries in 1954 than in 1953. Marked growth is noted in German societies, which, however, have far to go to regain their onedominant position in Lutheran missions.

The largest single mission is Lutheran Mission New Guinea, which finds support in the American Lutheran Church, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia, and the Neuendettelsau and Leipzig Societies in Germany, as well as the Lutheran World Federation Department of World Missions. This mission

is unique in that its policies are finally determined on the field, not by the home boards as in other cases.

Its pattern of co-operation, however, is not unique. One of the most noteworthy developments in post-war Lutheran missions is the growing tendency among boards to go beyond co-operation to integration in their work, across synodical and national lines. This phenomenon, which can be traced to the significant aid to "orphaned missions" during the last war, is now extending beyond such fields, and the pattern of "international teams" is growing in importance as the Lutheran churches of the world draw closer together. Perhaps the most inclusive mission of this type is the small Taiwan Lutheran Mission, which in 1954 was supported by eight boards of three nationalities, all of which previously had work in China. (Since then, two more boards have taken steps to join the work.) One German society, the Bethel Mission which lost its field during World War II, reports that, accepting the guidance of God "we renounce seeking a new mission field and consider as our new task that of helping where people need our assistance". Bethel now has missionaries serving on five different fields.

The majority of missions carry on full programs in specified geographic areas, with evangelistic, educational, and welfare work reaching all who will be reached.

A small number, however, have limited aims. These include those attempting to approach specific religious groups—all of these are Scandinavian missions. They include missions to the Jews in North Africa and Israel, a Norwegian mission to Moslems in India, and the Christian Mission to Buddhists in Hongkong and (since 1953) Japan.

Another specialized mission is the *Association Auxiliaire des Missions Luthériennes*, which assists with specialized personnel missions working in French territories as well as giving general assistance to missionaries from other countries studying in France; there were 45 such missionaries in 1954. The Hildesheim Mission maintains a home and school for the blind in Hongkong. The Kaiserswerth *Diakonissenanstalt* operates

schools in Jordan and Cairo and an old people's home in Cairo. Danish and Swedish women's societies carry on work among women in India and Tanganyika. Other institutional missions without parish work are also found, particularly in the Near East where the stubborn resistance of Islam to the Gospel shows no sign of breaking down. One cannot but be impressed by the impregnability of the Islamic fortress, but perhaps no less by the faithfulness and devotion of the few Christian missionaries who have found their call to be to evangelize the Moslem world.

A number of the "younger churches" have what Americans would call "home missions", but only the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India has its Commission on Overseas Missions which supplies (with financial assistance from LWF) two of the staff of foreign helpers working in the Batak Church.

The financial cost of this world-wide missionary program has not been tabulated. Any attempt to assess the contributions of the churches in Africa and Asia by tabulating monetary contributions alone would grossly misrepresent the facts, for in a great many of these churches much or even most of the giving is agricultural produce, and large contributions are made in voluntary services.

Figures reported by Professor Andrew Burgess of Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, on expenditures by fifteen American boards for work in Africa and Asia show a total for 1954 of \$ 8,750,000.

Lack of adequate earlier statistics make it impossible to calculate the growth of the church during the year. Individual reports vary greatly but indicate an estimated overall increase of 3 to 5%. Membership in Taiwan's very young church doubled. In Japan, the church increased by 10%. The Madagascar Church seems to have grown in certain areas (by 12% in one synod) and in others actually receded. In India, recent years have seen no mass movements and, while churches have shown a consistent number of adult baptisms, most of the growth has been by natural increase.

But progress is evident in other ways. Reports indicate that local contributions



in most churches increased to a greater degree than did membership—in other words, churches are moving toward self-support or adequate provision for their financial needs. The relationship between a church's self-government and self-support is illustrated by the report from the Madhya Pradesh Lutheran Church in India. In the five years since it received full autonomy as a church, its membership has increased by 12%; its local income, however, has doubled. In none of the churches reporting here, however, is it yet possible to say that their financial needs are met entirely by local funds. It is perhaps not surprising that this is so. Such churches in these continents as are entirely self-supporting—and there are some—are usually limited in their capacity to propagate by their lack of resources. The demands upon church organizations, with their limited membership, and the heavy (often too heavy) responsibilities in trying to keep up with the changing world, make absolute financial independence a luxury too expensive (in terms of its crippling effect) to be afforded. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that we look with joy on every increase in local giving, which is generally far lower than good stewardship demands.

The following churches were constituted in 1954: Taiwan Lutheran Church, Hongkong Lutheran Church, Zulu Synod in Natal and Zululand (associated with the Norwegian Missionary Society), and the Lutheran Church of Christ in Sudan (associated with the Danish United Sudan Mission, Nigeria). In South Africa, Jordan, and West Pakistan preparations for autonomous church organizations were under way. (A listing of all autonomous Lutheran churches is found in the LWF Directory, now under revision.)

Movements toward union among two or more Lutheran bodies were reported from several countries including Japan, Hongkong, Malaya (where a council was formed of Indian, Batak, and Chinese church groups), India (the Gossner and Ebenezer Churches), Jordan, Ethiopia, and the Union of South Africa.

In educational work, the Huria Kristen Batak Protestant took the noteworthy step of establishing a university with three faculties at present: law, econo-

mics, and theology. In a nation with, even for the East, a drastic shortage of higher educational institutions, this cannot but be recognized as an historic step. The Huria Kristen Batak Protestant has 100,000 students in its primary and secondary schools. (Cf. the report by A. Lumbantobing in this issue.)

In Tanganyika and New Guinea the missions are occupied with an increasing responsibility for schools which are operated with generous government subsidies. In Ethiopia the Emperor made a generous gift of land for a secondary school to be built with an LWF capital grant. But there, as in many other countries, the mission schools are becoming relatively less important to society (but not to the church) as government institutions multiply. In South Africa the new school laws promulgated by the government (and discussed elsewhere in this issue) are causing much discussion and will bring a change in the church's whole program. The implications of these new laws are far too drastic to be fully realized as yet.

Progress is reported in entry into previously unevangelized areas. The World Mission Prayer League reports hopefully from the border of Nepal, into which land missionaries have now entered after years of waiting; work is also proceeding among Nepali people on the Indian side of the border. Advance into previously unoccupied villages or cities is reported from many fields.

Revival movements having a wholesome effect on church life as well as on evangelism are reported from Ethiopia and Madagascar.

Among noteworthy evangelistic means in use are the Lutheran Hour broadcasts carried on by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Accompanied wherever used by correspondence courses and, where possible, by personal fellowship, these broadcasts have been particularly effective in radio-conscious Japan, where they have been called "the most significant single development in post-war missions".

Some reports speak of increasing activity by lay church people in evangelism. A report from Ethiopia points up the relationship of revival movements to lay

evangelism: "The revival movement is still spreading. The young church has already sent eight of its own messengers into the heathen country. They find a great eagerness. ... 145 volunteer evangelists. ... took part in a theological course." Effective use is being made of religious drama by Indian youth led by a German missionary in the Tamil Church of South India. It is no longer news that missions use modern methods of travel. In Liberia and New Guinea missions-owned airplanes have been in use for some years.

Note was taken in South Africa, India, and other countries of new problems presented by the growing urbanization of once-primitive peoples. The church which once worked in tribal villages is now beginning and will in the future no doubt continue to develop urban evangelistic centers. Missions have established work in the great mining locations and industrial cities of South Africa. A three-million rupiah church was completed in Medan, Sumatra, by the HKBP. Factory evangelism is reported from the Far East.

It is stated in this connection that the secularization of the non-occidental world is a fact of growing importance to the missionary program of the church. Some reference is made to the revival of ethnic religions—a fact particularly true of nationalistic Hindu India—but for much of the world the problem the church faces is obviously something else: Communism, nationalism, racialism, with ancient religions only as an adjunct. "The greatest hindrance to our Mission", reads one report, "is not the political attitude of the Government, but the fact that South Africa is the white man's land, characterized by European secularism".

This fact notwithstanding, tribalism, i.e., tribal loyalties and prejudices, is noted from several countries is a major problem. Tribalism makes it difficult for individuals to accept Christianity in the first instance, and once inside the church it is responsible for dissension as well as a lack of evangelistic vision.

Roman Catholic intrusion into Lutheran fields and aggressive proselytizing in Lutheran churches is noted both in Africa and Asia as a continuing problem. Mohammed competes with Christ for the souls of men in central Africa.

Less common is the problem of physical persecution by non-Christian peoples, though from Ethiopia and India such reports are noted. In the case of India, the Government has made clear its reluctance to welcome evangelistic missionaries from abroad and its disapproval of "proselyting" from Hinduism to Christianity. In general, however, it is said that the missionary or Indian Christian pastor is given full respect. While it is reported that a Danish physician with twenty-five years of experience was in 1954 refused re-entry to India, the same year saw new evangelistic missionaries given visas. The future of foreign workers in the church in India is uncertain. Fortunately, Indian leadership continues to grow. A missionary of the Christian mission to Buddhists was refused entry into Burma.

While every mission reporting on the matter noted increased income in 1954, the lack of funds was reported to be a major restriction to further expansion, especially by European societies. Missionary candidates are available to accept calls by most boards, although it appears that this situation may change in the next few years. Many missions report a shortage of experienced personnel.

A number of boards are now reported to be planning entry into new fields of work.

Mention should be made here of the completion in 1954 of one hundred years of work in Africa by the Hermannsburg Missionary Society. This year, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod celebrates the 60th year since its first missionary went to India.

The facts reported here, while they are indicative of progress and give hope for the continued activity of the church in the ministry which God has set before it, give no grounds for complacency. For as long as the non-Christian world is growing faster than the Christian, as indeed it is, our efforts are not sufficient. And one cannot but wonder, considering the latent powers of the Church, to what extent modern Lutheranism subscribes to the biblical truth that the one central task to which Christians are called is the evangelism of the world.

Arne Sovik



## The School Problem of the Lutheran Missions and Churches in South Africa

The carrying through of the South African government's long-planned and well-prepared action to bring its Native Education policy into accord with the policy of Apartheid is a matter of grave concern and may be called a landmark in the history of mission work in South Africa.

The basis of that action is the thorough and wide-ranging Report of the Commission on Native Education, the Eiselen Report, put forward in 1951 with far-reaching and radical proposals on school reform. The Commission's task was outlined in a letter from the Education Department, January 19, 1949 and includes, among other items, "the formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race" to make clear "the extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational educational system for Natives and training of Native teachers should be modified in respect of the contents and form of syllabuses, in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupation."

On the basis of these proposals Parliament, in 1953, passed the Bantu Education Act, laying the legal foundation of its educational program.

For all practical purposes, this educational program was formulated in a speech made by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, in the Senate on June 7, 1954, "on the Government's policy concerning Bantu Education for the immediate future."

The Minister stated that Bantu education, according to this policy, is not to aim at the development of the individual; it shall have as its object the welfare and progress of society. In this respect the existing order had been unsatisfactory, because the native population, including the non-Christians, was being served by so many different churches. Christians are divided into a great many denominations and sects, and the schools run by all these different parties do not serve society properly. The edu-

cation provided by these schools did not serve national policy as a whole.

Dr. Verwoerd emphasized that the existing order of financial support as well as of educational and administrative control was a disadvantage, because power to govern these affairs rested with the authorities of the four provinces. It ought to rest with the Native Affairs Department which was established to take care of the native population. This would conform also to the policy of Apartheid.

Mission schools could not serve society, as they did not draw upon its sources of strength. Their curricula and their teaching aimed at shaping pupils according to European patterns. They were, therefore, unable to prepare the natives to serve their own society.

The schools, Dr. Verwoerd emphasized, are to have as their foundation the Tribe-Unit and its traditions. The native language must become the medium of instruction in the schools. English and Afrikaans shall be part of the curriculum, but the instruction in these languages shall aim only at the capacity to understand and speak.

Religious instruction is to be retained, and the churches will have the opportunity of teaching Christianity to the children. The state will not interfere with church institutions training pastors and evangelists.

"An increasing number of institutions for higher education located in urban areas is not desired. Steps will be taken to keep such institutions away from urban areas, and to establish them as far as possible in the Native Reserves. My department's policy is that education should stand with both feet in the Reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will be called upon to perform its service.

"The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its

aims absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze. This attitude is not only uneconomic because money is spent for an education which has no specific aim, but it is also dishonest to continue it. The effect on the Bantu community we find in the much-discussed frustration of educated Natives who can find no employment which is acceptable to them. It is abundantly clear that unplanned education creates many problems disrupting the community life of the Bantu and endangering the community life of the European." Thus the minister's statement.

Already on August 2 of the same year the shock came, through the two memorials from the Secretary of Native Affairs, Dr. Eiselen. The Teachers' Training Schools were to be handed over to the state at a date not later than July 1, 1955, under the following optional conditions:

1. Closing the institutions after a certain lapse of time, to be fixed by mutual agreement; 2. handing over the schools and the hostels to be either purchased or rented; or 3. retaining the hostels only and accepting a subsidy for their maintenance.

As to state-aided primary and post-primary schools and hostels, an option was granted between:

1. Retaining control of schools and hostels either as private unaided institutions, or as aided institutions with a decreasing subsidy for teachers' salaries fixed initially at seventy-five per cent, and

2. Relinquishing control of these schools and hostels to Bantu community organizations.

Very little time was given to prepare for these important decisions. For state-aided schools the reply was to be delivered not later than December 31, 1954.

When this state-sponsored encroachment was put into effect, Lutherans were running 1,026 state-aided schools, out of a total of 5,346 state and state-aided schools in the Union as a whole.

The corresponding number of pupils was 106,000 out of a total of 800,000. There were then 2,740 teachers in the Lutheran schools.

This was the fruit of great sacrifices and devoted and efficient work on the part of the missions. It was the Christian churches that launched and developed general education work among the Bantus, and they have made the Bantu school a highly-estimated tool for missionary work.

Government very early became observant of the mission schools, and the authorities valued them highly. Government financial aid was granted as early as a hundred years ago. A relation of trust and co-operation developed between the two sides, and it has been an important factor in the Christian and cultural progress of the people.

The authorities found the missionaries trustworthy and able, wholehearted in their work, well qualified to educate the natives and help them forward and working with the set purpose of furthering the interests of the schools efficiently and conscientiously.

Thanks to state support, the missions, on their part, were able to render a service far more important than they would otherwise have been capable of, as the state spent large sums on building up the educational system.

The Lutheran missions have had their honorable share in this service. They have wholeheartedly adopted school-work as a first-class tool in the evangelization enterprise and have, therefore, paid great attention to it. The schools, too, have accomplished an important task in congregational life by giving to baptized children that Christian education which Lutheran baptismal practice presupposes, but which the homes in a semi-heathen environment are unable to provide.

Of great importance to the church is, in addition, the part that the schools have played in the task of recruiting its staff of pastors and evangelists. Here, especially, Umpumulo Teachers' Training School has rendered very important service. A great number of the Lutheran pastors had had their preparatory education in that school and have



there heard the call to the service of the Word of God in school and church. It is no wonder, then, that the missions have come to feel the government's encroachment as the cutting away of a vital and fruitful branch of their work.

Generally speaking, Protestants (excepting the Dutch Reformed Church) and Roman Catholics have reacted similarly, and some have taken up a position of strong criticism towards the proposed reforms of the Bantu school. They think it imperative that Bantu education be conducted in close contact with the church, that it be built on a Christian foundation, especially in the present time of disintegration. To the Christian Bantus who have received, through the Christian Church, those benefits and blessings which they share with the Christian world as a whole, nothing can replace the church as an educator of the people.

This point of view has been clearly put forward by some of the Lutheran missions. None of them, however, have dissociated themselves in principle from state-controlled education. They hold that one must conform to ordinances of the state and avail oneself of such opportunities for co-operation as these ordinances offer.

On account of this standpoint, the most extreme opponents of the school reform have charged the Lutherans with being all too willing to co-operate. There were those who held that the schools should close and that renting out of premises should be refused. But the propaganda conducted in order to unite missions and churches in such a boycott did not succeed.

Such a demonstration would inevitably have led to confusion, and the children's school work would have suffered. Moreover, one must take into account the fact that the authorities might have put restrictions on the missionaries' sojourn in the Union. There was, too, the risk that the possibilities of fruitful negotiation with the authorities might have been frustrated.

On the other hand it is regrettable that, in this situation, the Church could not speak unanimously—as one united body. Had it been possible to formu-

late a common program, she would have been able to assert her standpoint with moral force and weight. It is apparent from the existing church situation of South Africa that joint action was inconceivable. But precisely this fact compromised the Church, and gave cause for alarm, too, as the Church fights for the individual's right to develop his own potentialities, and for the same right for all races.

But even though a common approach might have been of some importance, it would certainly not have caused the authorities to drop their action or even to modify their policy. All signs seem to show that they were prepared to meet every eventuality. Parents would probably have been charged with the upkeep of school premises. In the last resort, confiscation of the property would not have been impossible.

The Lutheran view of the situation was influenced by the doctrine of the "two regiments". From this point of view there should be no objection to the state's taking over the educational system, and it is doubtful whether on its basis the Church or the mission might claim the right to exercise control over the schools. Whatever the Church might gain in secular prestige and outward position, would weaken her central vocational task and her Apostolic charge. Only in her own regiment can the Church speak with authority. But she will be able to do so only in proportion to her readiness to suffer for right and freedom. And here the situation has brought to light another weak point: There has been a strong inclination to speak and act as missions, instead of speaking and acting as churches; as missions we are, after all, foreigners and guests.

With the exception of the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of the Nazarene, who desire to retain control of their schools on a subsidized basis, and of the Anglican Diocese of Transvaal, which has decided to break away from the state and close its schools, most of the Anglican dioceses, the Methodists, Congregationalists, the free communities (excepting the Seventh Day Adventists, who will continue to run

their schools without state aid), the Friends, and the Salvation Army have all decided to hand over their schools on practically the same conditions as the Lutherans. They total about forty missions and church units.

These missions are going to wait and see whether they will have to sell the school premises. They are assuming that their best course will be to rent out the buildings, as otherwise the children would be handicapped in their school work and the teachers unemployed. By retaining the buildings, they will have the opportunity to exercise some control over them and to make certain conditions for their use. They will have the possibility of cancelling a contract if the use of the buildings goes against Christian principles. Selling the premises, it has been said, might be taken as indicating approval of the state's policy. It is emphasized that worship and other assembly activities of the congregation itself will in no way be handicapped through the use of the buildings by the schools. It is emphasized too that, apart from regular school hours, the church will retain the full use of the buildings for its own purposes. The rental fee is considered merely nominal, renting being instituted, for one thing, to emphasize the right of possession. The authorities will look after the upkeep of the buildings. Since none of these missions considered themselves in a position to pay 25% of the teachers' salaries, they had, in fact, no choice but to take such steps as stated above.

The Co-operating Lutheran Missions (CLM) in Natal uphold the same view in their Memorandum on the transfer of Umpumulo Teachers' Training School to the state (and also concerning the Zulu Lutheran High School). CLM are prepared to run the hostels on certain conditions; for instance: that CLM retain full control of religious activities outside school hours; that CLM be responsible for the admission of students to the hostels, and for dismissals; that students who are dismissed from the hostels are thereby also dismissed from the training school; that CLM be permitted to conduct morning prayer in the school chapel for the whole school;

that CLM be permitted to use the school buildings that are rented to the state for religious and educational purposes outside school hours; that sixty per cent of the students admitted to the hostels be Lutheran; that the school buildings be rented to the state at a rental covering interest on and amortization of the investments; that the state be responsible for all maintenance of the buildings rented. Many questions are still obscure and will be the object of further consideration. Among these is the question of the status of the missionary teachers—how long they may be permitted to continue as temporary teachers; and there are the questions of constituting Hostel Boards, and School Advisory Boards, of setting up plans for religious instruction, etc.—Time will tell how the whole thing turns out.

The program about to be put into effect concerns, according to Dr. Verwoerd, "the immediate future". Consequently we may expect further measures and regard this as only a first step in separating the mission and the Church entirely from the school. It would be well for the missions to face that possibility and to make preparations while there is yet time to do so.

A sober and realistic comparison in detail of past and present may help to bring to light gains and losses in the situation. The missionaries, in their capacity as grantees of state-aided schools, were engaged in considerable administrative activity, taking up time that might otherwise have been available for direct missionary work. There were, among others, upkeep of houses, procurement of furniture and instructional material, direction of teachers, responsibility for preserving the school's academic standing, fixing wages, keeping accounts. Missions that had one grantee for the whole field had to keep a special School Administration Office, pay the wages of its staff, appoint a building expert, etc. They will be free of such responsibilities in the future. In their place, as long as the missions hire out the school buildings, they will be obliged to supervise them, to sanction or refuse hiring apart from school hours, to collect the rent, etc. This may cause some annoyance, especially because the money is to be paid by the



Community Organizations. It may, therefore easily discredit the missions, as the buildings were constructed with more or less aid from the natives. These circumstances may lead influential heathen people in Bantu communities (for instance the chiefs) to take the course of building their own schools, so that the mission schools will be left unused.

That the authorities have a clear understanding of this appears from the letter to the missions by the Secretary of Native Affairs, August 2, 1954, pointing out that "since the funds available for the purchase or hiring of native schools will be derived at least in part of Native taxation, it will be appreciated that the interest of the native taxpayer will have to be borne in mind."

This may turn out to be a decisive factor in the question of leasing or selling the buildings. It also raises the question whether the missions should transfer the right of ownership of school buildings to local congregations (or to the synods).

In return for the service formerly rendered in the grant-schools, the missions had the right to give religious instruction in the schools. In 1949 such teaching consisted of teaching Scripture one hundred and twenty minutes a week in the lower grade classes and ninety minutes in the higher. Moreover, a school devotional service was conducted every morning, and we had the additional opportunity of giving fifteen minutes of catechetical instruction a week.

Though the grantees were allowed to teach religion and conduct devotional services in the schools, the missionaries themselves very seldom had the opportunity of visiting schools. Consequently the instruction in Christian doctrine was practically all in the hands of the teachers, and one often heard the complaint that religious instruction was in a miserable state. Though our grantees, of course, exerted influence upon the engagement of teachers and watched over their morals and Christian standards, it is questionable whether or not these privileges rendered Christian and ecclesiastical returns commensurate with the considerable work that the administration of schools involves. The grantee-schools were virtually open to students of every demoni-

nation. In thirteen arbitrarily chosen Lutheran Schools, 513 out of a total of 1,137 pupils were Lutheran. It may be safe to assume that there was a proportionate representation of Lutheran children in non-Lutheran schools. If the new adjustment keeps what it promises, we will have the opportunity of teaching Christianity to Lutheran pupils in all the schools. Formerly, the missions were obliged to employ in their schools a considerable number of teachers belonging to other churches and denominations, because there were not enough qualified Lutheran teachers available. And among Lutheran teachers there were those who were little suited, or even downright unsuited, as teachers of religion.

In principle, there is now to be no obstacle to appointing as teachers in formerly state-aided school persons of any religious view—heathen, sectarians, Roman Catholics. What the result of this is going to be depends on what influence we may be able to exercise on the appointment of teachers through school boards, or by negotiation with the authorities, or whether we may be able to induce Lutheran teachers to apply for appointment in schools within the pale of our own congregations. But our actual chance in school is now, as before, the *religious instruction itself*. And if the authorities keep the promises they have made, opportunities seem rather good. The Eiselen Report (chapter 12, page 155) emphasizes that "the Commission's recommendation that the control of Bantu schools should gradually be transferred to Bantu local authorities does not imply a desire to see a reduction of activities of religious bodies on behalf of the Bantu. On the contrary it is the earnest desire of the Commission that this work should grow and expand, and that religious bodies should do all in their power to support and promote work of the schools . . . . The missionary's interest can be displayed in a very practical way directly . . . . He can take share in the religious instruction in the schools when, as sometimes happens, the staff is not too well qualified for this duty, or by arranging special voluntary classes for the teachers he can prepare them better for the task."

Dr. Verwoerd, in his statement to the Senate, assures us that "the needs of religious instruction will be carefully taken into account. Indeed it will be served more generously..." (page 12). Each mission and church unit will be allowed to follow its own course of instruction. Whether the missions will be permitted to draw up their own Lutheran syllabus for religious instruction and to give this instruction to all students in the Training School (and the High School) as they have asked, is not yet clear.

Though the missions declared themselves willing to co-operate with the state in the execution of its school reform, this does not mean that they were at one with the discriminatory reorganization of native education which the educational policy of the state does, in fact, involve. Even the removal of this education from the Education Department, putting it under the control of the Native Affairs Department as special *native* education, was felt as a stamp of inferiority.

Much as one must rejoice in the fact that education is now being brought close to the Bantu children's own milieu, that the Bantus themselves shall have a share in the responsibility and workings of their own educational system, that the medium of instruction shall be the native language, etc., one cannot but realize that these benefits become rather illusory, since the aim of the training of children is to make them fit "for a certain form of labour" and "provide the Bantu with an education not concentrated on the interest of the individual, but having as its purpose the progress of the community" (Dr. Verwoerd, page 5).

The program stands in marked contrast to the rights of the individual and to the democratic view of the education of children, namely: free opportunity to develop all one's abilities and to avail oneself of every possibility, in school, in church, and in the home. Here, on the contrary, is an educational system which, from the first school years onward, aims at making the Bantus servants of another race and at safeguarding the superiority of that other race. Bounds are thereby set to the free development of the Bantus.

An educational system aiming at such a narrow and one-sided role in society

will inevitably lead to spiritual and cultural isolation. People will be led into a blind alley, which is just the opposite of what the Bantus need today, namely: to be embraced within the full fellowship of man, that they may share in the common benefits of humanity. It is easy to perceive that this involves grave consequences, too, for their church and for its spiritual and administrative ripening. The effects of the new system will probably be felt most strongly in the recruitment of church leaders.

According to the program, Bantu education is to be run within the framework of the Bantus' own economic resources. This will, naturally, bring about a lowering of standards. A similar effect will be achieved by applying the native language as the medium of instruction. Sound as the principle may be in itself, one must keep in mind that the vernacular has no official status in South Africa. Its literature is very poor and limited, and introducing it as the means of instruction will, therefore, result in a fatal reduction of the possibilities of development and progress and shut the gates of the surrounding world. The situation in South Africa today presupposes that any road towards progress must run through cultural and ecclesiastical fellowship, and through knowledge of the English language. The proposed change has therefore met with strong opposition also among enlightened Christian Bantus.

One may, of course, raise the question whether the free, civilized school, run according to American and European patterns with their secularism, would really be such a blessing to the peoples of Africa. Is it not just this school that now disintegrates the soul of Africa? There is a consensus of opinion that first and foremost Africa needs a school capable of helping the African to comprehend life in its variety, and as a unity as well, under the dominion of God, and to view the individual, as well home and community, in the light of the Gospel and in relation to the power of Christian faith.

To the soul of Africa the problem is an "existential" one. But viewing it in this context is, nevertheless, unrealistic. Primary schools run according to the



patterns of Europe and America are already an accomplished fact in South Africa. The problems will not be solved by cutting away a limited part of the opportunity of education and the right of knowledge, but by making faith in God the central and commanding factor in all education and in all character training.

To outline the task that the situation seems to place before the churches and missions, I should like to make the following points: The school reform is a strong challenge to the Lutheran church units and missions to take effective steps to provide Christian education of children and young people. As long as the Church retains the opportunity of teaching Christianity in state schools and of otherwise exerting a Christian influence, and as long as she can look after her own interests in the schools, it is of the utmost importance that she do all her power to make use of these opportunities. Here church and mission must mobilize all their gifts of grace. Apart from what missionaries, pastors, and evangelists may accomplish, the teachers must, to the greatest extent possible, become engaged in the task. But even that will not be sufficient. A comprehensive problem such as this can be solved only by lay Christians awakened to a comprehension of the task; they must be trained to take up and carry out the work of teachers of religion. The accomplishment of such a task will require courses for teachers of religion in lower grade primary schools all over the country. In schools with a number of teachers, there may be some who can teach according to the syllabus of the church. But even these will require training in special courses.

The mission schools (the private primary schools) should, if possible, be extended, the instruction being brought into accord with the state system in order that pupils be unimpeded in their further studies in community schools. This will probably require that teachers' standards be raised accordingly.

Should it prove possible to execute the government's scheme of appointing women as substitutes for a considerable number of male teachers in lower grade classes in community schools, and of enlarging the classes per teacher, then more

qualified teachers will probably be available for private schools.

It will be important that Christians, both pastors, lay churchleaders, and parents, be elected members of school boards and committees. Where such bodies have already started work, pastors have been playing an important part as chairmen. It is equally important to have the hostel boards and the Advisory Boards of the Teachers' Training Schools and High Schools satisfactorily manned.

However, the accomplishment of the task in the schools depends first and foremost on the individual character of the teacher. A good teacher in a bad system is far better than a poor teacher in a good one.

Apart from the influence it hopes still to exert in the teachers' training school hostels, the church will, in the future more than hitherto, be reduced to work through Christian teachers in state and community schools. Through them the church will have a gate of entry into the task of educating the young people which it embraces with a special interest. The teachers need help to look upon themselves first and foremost as the representatives in school of the Church and of Christianity, to strengthen their vocational consciousness, and to take care of their spiritual edification, inspiration, and guidance for the task. This can be given through regular courses dealing with pedagogical questions, especially in relation to particular South African problems, and throwing the light of Christianity upon these problems.

In order to encourage teachers to take upon themselves such a Christian and ecclesiastical task, the founding of a Lutheran Teachers' Association should be considered. Such an association could benefit from the insight and guidance of the missionaries and church-leaders and through its meetings could become, locally and in the Church as a whole, an important source of inspiration.

What has been said of the decisive part played by the personality of the teacher is especially true of the missionary teachers in teacher training schools and high schools. Everything possible ought to be done to ensure that they be retained in their posts. For the time being they continue as temporary teachers, on

condition that they perfect themselves in Africaans. The Co-operating Lutheran Missions have suggested in their Memorandum that their missionary teachers be allowed to remain in their position for the rest of their period as missionaries. The critical stage will be reached at the time of their furlough, when their posts will have to be filled with new people. The question is then raised whether these new teachers are to apply to the state for appointment. If this be the case, it will probably be necessary for them to become citizens of the Union. It has been recommended, lately, that the missionary *should* be a civil servant. But this, on the other hand, implies a considerable risk. At all events, the missionaries must have the right of free choice in this respect. The NMS has requested that its teachers at Umpumulo Teachers' Training School be retained as civil servants. They are willing to remain, temporarily, but they have asked to be free from the condition of becoming South African citizens to obtain permanent appointment.

There is also the scheme to reduce gradually the number of European teachers in Teachers' Training Schools. We must face the possibility of missionaries not being wanted as educators of Bantu youth if they do not go in for Bantu education as part of the policy of Apartheid.

The whole situation urges the Church to devote her energies to making more effective the Sunday Schools, and the work among children and young people. As many of the native leaders lack an eye for this task, it will probably require a vigorous pull on the part of the Church in appointing special workers to carry it through.

Finally, the church schools for the education of these special servants, that is, Bible Schools, Schools for Evangelists, etc., will be of greater importance than before.

In all, the new school situation contains so many uncertain elements, so many new chances and tasks, that every mission ought to appoint one particular member of its missionary staff to specialize in it that the Church may be able to avail herself of every chance in every aspect of educational affairs. All these

activities should be co-ordinated, and implemented with an eye on the future Lutheran Church. Common Lutheran action on a wide basis for furthering Christian general education should be considered.

All agree, I am sure, that there is an enormous need for orientation, information, and guidance in these matters. This is only natural, since congregations and churches have all the time rested on what the mission and the state accomplished. Now that this resting place is vanishing, Christians and their leaders are largely unprepared to understand either the necessity or the nature of the task and the general service demanded of Christians in the educational enterprise.

In conclusion I would say, therefore, that a plan to found a Lutheran Institute of Christian Education should be very earnestly considered and discussed. Our aim, in the present situation, must be to educate the congregations and their leaders to accomplish a democratic task, wherever the law offers the Bantus and their Church a chance.

Johannes Skauge

## The Spiritual Life of the Younger Churches

It is difficult to generalize on the spiritual life of the younger churches. It would be easier to try to give a picture of the spiritual life of one particular indigenous church, of the Evangelical Church of Buhaya in my case, since I served there for two years, and my experiences there serve as background to much of what I am going to say. Yet I want to begin with some basic considerations.

We cannot create spiritual life, either in ourselves, or in other people. Such life is entirely a gift of God. A man cannot grasp anything by himself, he can receive only what is granted him by Heaven. But on the day of Pentecost the Holy Spirit was given not only to the Apostles but also to the Church now. The gift of spiritual life is present reality



in the means of grace; it is up to us to recognize where and how they operate. Whether we receive this gift ourselves and clear the way for the gift of spiritual life to reach other people depends on us alone.

I hope that the representatives of the younger churches will feel that what I am going to say is adequate to the situation in their churches. At the same time, I would insist that we in the older churches have nothing to boast of when we compare the spiritual life in our churches with that of many younger churches today. Finally, addressing my colleagues from the mission societies, I want to emphasize our responsibility for the spiritual life of the younger churches.

Let us think of some of the obstacles to the spiritual life of the younger churches (which are often the same for us) and at the same time consider how to overcome them.

One such obstacle may be poor knowledge of the Bible. We know that the Holy Spirit works through the Holy Word. We as Lutherans should certainly be aware of this. We should encourage Bible study groups in every congregation. We should provide our people with Bible study courses in the vernacular planned in such a way that they actually lead to the Gospel, inspire and explain how to live according to the Gospel and walk in its light. A fresh and deep understanding of the Bible has proved to be the strength of all revival movements. I am thinking, for instance, of the Evangelical Church of Buhaya, where today even many illiterate women have achieved an astonishingly good knowledge of the Word of God<sup>1</sup>.

We ought to foster *devotional life* in church worship, in the liturgy and, not least, in regular Holy Communion. And there is often too little regular devotion in Christian homes. We badly need good, simple books of devotion in the vernacular, and we ought to teach people how to conduct such times of devotion.

This points to the need for *publications*. There is a lack of good Christian literature in the vernaculars, which is disastrous, because too much bad literature is already in circulation, even among Christians. Publishing is the most urgent task just now and ought to be given priority in every field of the church.

There is too little personal cure of souls in our congregations. Our pastors and evangelists must be trained very thoroughly in this their central obligation as servants of the church. We find that, for instance in the Evangelical Church of Buhaya, the revival has turned many simple members of the church into effective spiritual guides to Christ for each other and for those still outside.

In his report on theological training in British West and East Africa, Bishop Stephen Neill points out that there are two strata in the conscious life of the African: intellectually he is a Christian and knows the Christian terminology; but deeper, in his emotional life, in the thinking process that determines his actions, there are other springs and motivations. There survives a strange heathen world which is largely untouched. And apparently there is no door between these two strata. We are probably not mistaken if we state that this confronts us with the key problem of the spiritual life in many younger churches and consequently with a serious concern for the cure of souls.

*Church discipline* is sometimes very slack. On the other hand, there is much rigid legalism; though it is true that the law is the schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, there must be real love in all church discipline, deep understanding, and responsibility for spiritual guidance. I am afraid that at this very point there are many shortcomings in our younger churches. And moral weakness and lack of discipline are obstacles to God's Holy Spirit, for these two factors, the Holy Spirit and discipline in the spiritual life, make a good Christian.

"One of the essential marks of a growing church" is that church's desire for "*an adequately trained ministry . . .*" In many areas the quality of training given to ordinands is still a matter of great concern. Preparation for a prophetic

<sup>1</sup> For further study of the revival movement in East Africa, I recommend Max Warren, *Revival: An Enquiry*, London, 1954.

tic ministry and for personal evangelism requires far more attention. There is a need for great flexibility in standards of training, and for their adaptation to the demands of different types of men in the one ministry<sup>1</sup>. A great deal of research has recently been devoted to this subject in Africa and also in India, but it is important to press such research to practical conclusions. There must be more purposeful guidance in the training for preaching. Many of our young churchmen have gifts as speakers—sometimes preaching seems to come too easily to them. But what is their message? Is there an appeal to the individual? an invitation from God, a clear explanation of the Word of God, a spirit of enthusiasm for proclaiming the good news, clear guidance of the soul to the narrow gate of decision?—This, too, is a challenge to all of us who are entrusted with the holy ministry of the Word of God.

Missionaries, too, are sometimes a hindrance to the spiritual life of the indigenous church. In a document representing the opinion of the younger churches at the Willingen conference of 1952 we find this statement: "There are frequent reports among us of missionaries coming to the younger churches with little or no evangelistic passion. We hesitate to pass sweeping judgments, but we feel that the younger churches require foreign missionaries who go forth to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ and not those who sit at administrators' desks" (*op.cit.*, p. 234).

We missionaries, servants from abroad, must watch our own spiritual life and moral conduct, and our own fellowship. We must increasingly identify ourselves "as Christians with those among whom [we] serve in their daily life and aspirations." Very much depends on our attitude towards the nationals. Our minds must not be bound by a superiority complex. A missionary must not be, as Luther says "*incurvatus in se*"—tied in

knots of self-sufficiency—he must feel himself one with the indigenous church. Yet "complete identification, even if it were possible, would be undesirable, since much of the foreign missionary's unique contribution springs from the distinctive elements in him that represent the richness and diversity of the Church's life" (*op.cit.*, p. 211). But it is necessary for the missionary to devote himself to the help and guidance of national leaders in their spiritual life by placing himself humbly at their side, ready to learn with an open mind, willing to share with them their own spiritual experiences. A missionary should try to live as much as possible out in the district among the people, giving as much time as possible to assist in deepening the inner life of the local congregation, for these visits to local congregational groups are of paramount importance. Such missionary service calls for men and women with special gifts, experience, and training.

Lack of mutual understanding and of co-operation in full confidence among Christians has always been an obstacle to people outside the Christian Church, and a serious problem to many Christians.

If we are to recover the initiative in the Church's mission activity, unity is an essential condition of effective witness and advance of the Church. In the land's of the younger churches the divided witness has been a great handicap. Representatives of the younger churches feel this very keenly. "While unity may be necessary in the lands of the older churches, it is imperative in those of the younger churches" (Rajah B. Manikam). "Lack of co-operation and unity is always a weakness in the Christian church, but in the younger churches disunity is sin" (V. S. Azariah).

The so-called *Christian schools* are sometimes a hindrance rather than a channel for the Gospel. We all know how necessary our schools are, the lower and the higher. But a really Christian school exists only where there are really Christian teachers. And we have sometimes failed to train our young men and women in the Teachers' Training Centers to become true, converted, trustworthy

<sup>1</sup> Norman Goodall, ed., *Missions under the Cross: Addresses delivered at the Enlarged Meeting of the Committee of the International Missionary Council at Willingen, in Germany, 1952*; London, 1953, p. 197.



teachers. One reason is the lack of suitable missionaries just for this task. The half-educated teachers too often prove to be secularized, and consequently the Christian schools are secularized to an alarming degree. In order to run the schools according to our obligations towards our comprehensive school program and, not least, the Government, we must sometimes, moreover, engage teachers from other denominations or, even worse, non-Christian teachers. In many areas our Christian schools have become a half-measure.

We seem to have relied too much on our schools in building indigenous churches. The Primary School is almost always a center of the local congregational group, and the teacher is supposed to be the leader, or one of the leaders. If we remember that the growth and strength of church life depend upon the local village congregation, we must be aware of the danger of having a school on the spot which cannot bring full Christian influence to bear on either the pupils or the congregation.

I am afraid there is need for a thorough re-thinking of our school program. Meanwhile, the rapidly growing influence of Government on the whole school system gradually deprives us of authority over our own schools. We had better realize in good time that we cannot continue to build the church upon the schools as we have done. In this connection, the need for Sunday Schools and the proper training of Sunday school teachers, male and female, is obvious. We must strengthen our youth work and encourage voluntary lay workers to take part in such activity.

We must help the younger churches to a proper total concept of the Church, a true Christian vision of what it means to live in the Church.

In Willingen the theme "The Indigenous Church" was "considered under a dominating sense of [its] urgency". I permit myself to quote a few lines from that statement, as it reflects the view of the indigenous church. (Dr. D. G. Moses, Nagpur, India, was chairman of that commission.) "There was a strong conviction that the future of the Christian Church depends on 'the Church being

the Church', on its being a redeemed fellowship and a channel of God's redeeming grace, in the place and country, where it is . . . So long as a church bears more evidence of 'foreignness' than of relevancy to its local situation, its redemptive mission is obscure.

"The accepted definition of an independent church, which has all too often been confused with the definition of an indigenous church, as a 'self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating' community needs to be reconsidered . . . If self-sufficiency and autonomy, are isolated as ends in themselves, they lead to a dangerous narrowness of view. They have meaning only as expressions of the Church's worshipping and witnessing character . . ."

We have to consider the characteristic marks of such a national church "in any country, age, ecclesiastical tradition or degree of independence". When speaking of the heritage of cultural values it was stressed that the Church is not to be "rooted in the soil" but *related* to the soil. The Church can only be rooted in Christ. But the eternal Gospel must be so presented to men and women that its contemporary and compelling relevance is recognized. It cannot be so recognized, as long as it appears in foreign guise . . . Foreign in one sense, the Church must always be; its citizenship is in heaven, and it is an agent of transformation". (*op.cit.* pp. 195f.) It is therefore relevant to stress and explain more clearly the eschatological conception of the Church.

*The local congregation is the focal point of the church's spiritual life.* It is there that fellowship in worship, service, and witness becomes a reality. Therefore, our basic task ought to be to strengthen the spiritual life of the small local congregation in the village or parish. Every effort should be concentrated on the local group.

In that connection we must pay special attention to the proper training and education of catechumens and, after them, those attending confirmation classes. Again, there is the same demand for parish teachers or evangelists, helpers to the pastors who are fit for this

very important task, helpers who are, by the grace of God, able to guide and inspire their pupils.

We have already mentioned the importance of regular Sunday schools and purposeful youth work. Once again we must realize the necessity of training helpers by means of Bible schools, Bible courses, refresher courses that provide both theoretical and practical training, and where missionaries and pastors of the Church can give these helpers personal counsel and guidance to direct and inspire them.

There must be a new zeal for evangelism. In the Evangelical Church of Buhaya, for instance, every Christian touched by the revival movement is happy to witness for Christ to other people about the new life he or she has found. That means: every Christian a missionary. If we lose the passion for the Gospel, we lose the initiative in the struggle between Christianity and all its enemies. By witnessing by word and deed for Christ, the congregation's spiritual life grows deeper and stronger. Answering the call to evangelize, a church finds new life. Neglecting to hear and obey, a church loses its own life. Evangelism can only be expected as a fruit of deepening spiritual life in the congregation: evangelism and spiritual life are reciprocal. The witness is to be given by proclamation, fellowship, and service. The inspiring power is a gift of the Holy Spirit, manifested in the prayer life and the rich fellowship of the congregation. Evangelism is the responsibility of every Christian; a fulfilment of this task and duty to witness as a corporate manifestation of the local congregation is something far more effective than the paid professional "evangelist" on whom we rely too often.

Evangelism frequently begins when an individual is led by the Holy Spirit to see that some areas of his life are not committed to his Lord; if he corrects this, it will lead to the wholeness that is essential to powerful witness. Nothing is more urgent than to evangelize the family, the basic unit of society—for one of the greatest instruments for evangelism and Christian nurture is the Christian home.

Evangelism must also be at the center of the church's publishing venture and should not be contemplated without suitable cheap Christian literature being available: books, leaflets, and newspapers.

"The inner life of a church will only be healthy when its corporate worship reflects and deepens the joy, dedication and fellowship of the Christian faith; when there is a spontaneous desire to share the riches of the Gospel; when there is an effective will to assume responsibility for the maintenance of the church and . . . impatience with the status of a church dependent on external aids, when non-Christian neighbours see evidence of the reality of Christian fellowship in the church's corporate witness and its impact on society.

"Such a church must be a fellowship of the Spirit, a community of prayer, a school in which men, women and children build up one another in the Spirit and learn together to transmit their Christian hope to others. The missionary witness to the unevangelized and the nurture of the Christian community must be held together in balance as the primary obligations of the local church.

"The inner life of the churches depends upon the Holy Spirit, who is the source of all new life."<sup>1</sup> Arvid Bäfverfeldt

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.* p. 198.

## World Service

### Lutheran World Service and the Principles of Inner Mission

#### Is there a Relationship?

The statement of the title assumes a relationship between Lutheran World Service and the Commission on Inner Missions. Actually we have two separate commissions in the LWF which have never met jointly and which probably have never recognized a relationship between themselves.

In summary, the tasks of Lutheran World Service are fourfold: service to



refugees; inter-church aid, including assigned minority and diaspora groups; material relief, such as food, clothing and medicines; co-operation with the work of ecumenical organizations. These tasks are accomplished in three main ways: joint services operated by LWS on behalf of and as agency for the member churches; co-ordination of the work and services of the individual member churches, thus preventing duplication or overlapping of efforts by helping to work out specific agreed-upon places and tasks for the activities of the member churches; and, finally by serving as a channel for receiving and disbursing funds or supplies to those in need, whether these materials come from member churches or from non-member groups or agencies.

Pertinent to these tasks and approaches of Lutheran World Service are certain of the aims and functions stated for the Commission on Inner Missions: First, "to assist the churches in realizing the significance of the Inner Missions for the life of the church"; second, "to study the issues and problems facing our churches in the program of Inner Missions and welfare work"; and third, "to assist churches in facing special problems in this area of the church's work".

Actually a relationship properly exists, therefore, between the tasks of Lutheran World Service and the principles of Inner Missions. Lutheran World Service is an action program. It seeks to meet and to serve demonstrated human needs. It brings its services to people, places, and circumstances where the neighborly hand of helpfulness and the ministering arms of Christian love are needed. For such tasks Inner Missions through long years of experience has developed a philosophy, guiding concepts, and working principles which might prove useful to Lutheran World Service.

### Some Central Inner Mission Principles

Without being so bold or so foolish as to try to define Inner Mission principles I would nevertheless venture to suggest some which I believe to be among the central ones.

*A. Helping and seeking to heal those in need is a vital part of our faith.* Jesus was full of compassion and went about doing good. He summarized the Second Table of the Law as love for neighbor as for self. In His foretelling of the Last Judgment He showed what importance will be put on action or inaction to meet the needs of fellow human beings. As opportunity permits, St. Paul tells us, we must do good to all men, especially to members of the household of faith. Yet Jesus made clear in His parable of the Good Samaritan that one cannot impose a religious test before helping.

Living Christians must be loving Christians, as St. John stresses. St. James reminds us that faith without works is dead. Jesus Himself taught that through the good works of His disciples men would be drawn to see the Father in heaven.

Something of this whole spirit of helpfulness is expressed in a motto hanging in the central hallway of the Brotherhouse at Stephanstift, Hannover:

Man lebt soviel man liebt  
Man liebt soviel man dient

(as we love, so do we live,  
and as we serve, so do we love).

*B. Man lives simultaneously in the physical and spiritual realms.* He is a unity of body, mind, and soul. A hurt in one part affects the whole of his being. Efforts to help him in his need must seek to serve the whole man, not segmented man. One cannot properly separate material aid from spiritual aid.

*C. Man is a social being, living in mutual dependence with his fellow human beings.* All human society with its social institutions and social structures exists in order to channel, to give order and direction to, and to serve men's needs. When it fails to do so, it is ripe for change. Each person must be trained, and be made inwardly willing, to live harmoniously with his fellows. Home, church, and school serve especially toward this end. Each person must contribute responsibly to the well-being of his own, his neighbors, and society as a whole. Those who make no effort toward responsible, constructive service

have little claim upon their neighbors. The principle of justice, individual and social, properly governs man's social relationships. Justice is an integral part of Christian love, for love without justice would be mere sentimentality or soft-heartedness.

D. *Each person should find, develop, and use the potentialities peculiar to his own personality.* God has given each person a unique combination of talents, abilities, opportunities, and circles of influence. Heredity and environment are the channels He uses. Man's highest potentiality, both in time and for eternity, is realized when he becomes reunited with God the Father through faith in Jesus Christ. Related to specific Inner Mission tasks, this principle requires not *doing for*, but *working with*. It is a helping and fostering process, not a taking over of responsibility. It seeks to overcome dependency by rehabilitation through discovering and developing latent capacities, thus making each person useful to the limit of his abilities. An ultimate aim of the Inner Mission is to strengthen in Christian fellowship or to win for Christ any person in need of help. It is thereby a specialized missionary arm of the Church. To accomplish the central goals implied in this entire principle, a keen sense of timing and a realistic understanding of persons, including what motivates them, are essential.

E. *The freedom, the independence, and the integrity of each person are to be respected.* Decisions he reaches and courses of action to which he agrees should be his own, voluntarily arrived at and not imposed upon him. To do otherwise is to assault and to violate his personality. Differences of opinion must be respected. One must always be open to the possibility of one's own misunderstanding of another's situation and thus to the possibility of errors of judgment or appraisal. The right to freedom of decision and to the exercise of one's own individuality is a right inherent in human beings from their original creation in the image of God. Such freedom cannot be allowed, however, to extend to licence, abuse or harm to others, for that would violate the equally essential social nature

of man and deny his social responsibility.

F. *Co-operation with others of kindred objectives is proper and necessary for meeting recognized human needs.* No one person or agency acting alone can serve all possible human needs or meet the wide variety of potential calls for help. The development of specialized resources among the co-operating agencies is the most effective way of meeting the multiplicity of human needs. State agencies and church agencies properly can and should co-operate in services of helpfulness to persons. It is not necessary for the church as an organization to provide all of the resources, institutions, and agencies required to meet all the human needs even of its own members. Church members join as citizens in helping to provide through the state various means and resources for meeting the needs of people in distress.

G. *Preventive services which guard against and avert the crises of human need are equally essential, and indeed preferable, to treatment services which deal with the victims of distress.* This principle requires efforts to work for a better social order, one which permits the optimum opportunities for personality fulfilment. It means that instead of only training more nurses, buying more ambulances, and building more hospitals to treat the victims of accidents on life's highway, the skill of safety engineering is applied toward reducing the number of accidents and wrecks along the highway of life. This principle demands participation in the study and policy-making decisions of communities, local, regional, national, and international. It allows itself to be governed in its speaking and acting by Christian concepts of love, justice, the nature of man, the nature of society. It believes in the necessity of treatment services, but it believes it much better to work for the prevention of harm befalling the neighbor.

H. *Man is a sinful being and will always fall short of the ideals to which he aspires and which God desires.* That man is a sinner must always be taken into realistic account. He has perverse ways of doing what he should not do



and of not doing what he should do. Normally, he is inclined to put his interests and his desires above those of God or of his neighbors. He often resents being dependent on others, and in consequence seems deliberately to try to hurt those who seek to help him. Ingratitude is a common fault. Anxiety, insecurity, guilt, and remorse warp his perspective and destroy his peace of mind. Even the Christian is at once saint and sinner.

### The Context Within which LWS Works

The foregoing are among Inner Mission principles which seem to me pertinent to the tasks of Lutheran World Service. Before attempting to look at them in closer relationship, however, I wish to comment briefly on the world context within which LWS operates.

It is trite but true to say that great social changes are sweeping across the world. LWS needs to understand these and to keep them in mind as it goes about its task. One particular aspect of these changes deserves special consideration.

The Western world seems increasingly to be seeking security, protection, and preservation of its present status, including as it does so many advantages and comforts. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are moved by another ferment. This ferment can perhaps best be summarized as a struggle for emancipation from enslaving structures, customs, and traditions and a desire for freedom to achieve independence and self-determination. To a great extent the Communist-non-Communist tension in the world today is a part of this fundamental clash.

Decisions made by LWS must be made within this world context. LWS actions are taken in a realistic, often tense, situation where the right course is difficult to determine. Decisions must be as politically wise and astute as they must be soundly Christian.

There is a danger that LWS, necessarily acting in emergency situations, will concentrate too much on material relief, emergency services, and "fire-fighting" functions. It dare not neglect the positive, fundamental, church-strengthening, and

"fire prevention" aspects of its work. Though far less spectacular, far less glamorous, and lending themselves so poorly to emotionally oriented appeals for funds, these preventive and body-building services in the long run appear more likely to be the truly lasting fruits of Lutheran World Service.

### Applications to the Specific Tasks of LWS

Difficult as it was to suggest Inner Mission principles, it is even more difficult to apply them specifically to the tasks of LWS. Rather than try to do so, item by item, I shall try to keep them in mind as a background or a perspective within which I comment on various tasks of LWS.

*Services to Refugees.* Christian compassion and a desire to correct injustice certainly must compel Lutherans to action on the refugee problems. Most of the pressure caused by refugees stems from political decisions reached at international levels. Assisting migration out of unfavorable circumstances is one approach toward easing the refugee problem. This the LWS has been doing, now almost entirely in close co-operation with the church bodies of the sending and the receiving lands. Such reliance upon the churches is sound.

Two cautions suggest themselves. 1) Not all would-be migrants should be encouraged to emigrate. An individualized analysis is necessary, as is the strength at times to discourage migration as an unwise step in particular personal circumstances. 2) The differential effects of migration upon the remaining population need to be remembered. Generally, the young and the more enterprising become the migrants. How many such persons can leave without causing difficulties for the future of the sending country?

Positive efforts to improve the lot of refugees and to aid in their assimilation are a proper part of LWS services. Here I think of aids to health, to improved housing, to a spiritual ministry to refugees in their own tongue, whether these all be financed alone by the church

or whether LWS becomes the medium through which governmental, intergovernmental, foundation grants or other funds are channeled to health, housing, rehabilitation or community services. Particularly sound, in my estimation, are grants or loans made to help rehabilitate refugees into economically useful and productive work, including aid to newly-established industries where refugees may work and communities where they live. I think also of efforts among the established populations seeking to foster favorable and helping attitudes towards the refugees, and of citizenship education which will stimulate support for sound governmental measures dealing with refugee matters.

The long-range task of LWS in refugee matters appears to me to be one of co-ordination rather than of direct service. It can be the medium between the sending and receiving churches, providing helpful information, warning of trends and difficulties, helping the churches to integrate the new arrivals into membership, and continuing its transportation loan fund service.

Areas of population pressure, caused by over-population, introduce another element. Helping with emigration to suitable receiving countries, possible aid toward strengthening the domestic industry and economy to provide for a larger resident population, and fostering attitudes favorable to controls over population reproduction through acceptance of contraceptive practices, are possible approaches.

*Inter-Church Aid.* It is in this area that the positive, body-building services of LWS can best come to the fore. Implicit is the recognition that each church, no matter how small, has a contribution to make and each, regardless of its prestige, has something to learn. LWS can in fact be a medium drawing together for contact, communication, and exchange of views representatives of the member churches.

Exchange of personnel interested in similar activities in churches of different traditions and experiences is a step in this direction. Training of the future generation of leaders in church enterprises should be a valuable investment

of inter-church aid. Recognition of the common bond of Lutheran fellowship throughout the world would thus be stimulated. Mutual trust and confidence, based on first-hand acquaintance, should be enhanced.

The supporting arm of world Lutheranism must, nevertheless, also be extended more directly to the minority churches, especially. The aim is to strengthen them the better to perform their services, not to make them wards of world Lutheranism. On occasion such inter-church aid may help to establish, or to meet a crisis in the operations of, inner mission agencies and institutions. Aid should be regarded as only temporary, not as a continuing resource. It ought to be a means for stimulating local initiative to match, to a greater or lesser degree, the sum from outside so that the church and its members will feel their creative responsibility and continuing interest. Such institutions or agencies may be the most effective means the minority church has for showing the power of the Christian Gospel and bearing witness to the Lordship of Christ.

Throughout all the projects of inter-church aid, LWS must have clearly in mind, and keep continually in mind, the essential nature and function of the church. It would be easy to be distracted by lesser considerations. Bishop Lilje, in his message to the Executive Committee of the LWF in Vienna early in 1955 stated this simply: "For the Lutheran Church nothing but the presence of Christ in Word and Sacrament is really part of the '*notae Ecclesiae*' ... no other task is as important for the church as the proclamation of the Gospel. And preaching the Gospel is thus the only standard by which the strength and vitality of a church can be measured." Knowing Bishop Lilje's views, we know how broad is his understanding of what the fullness of the Gospel means, and we are not concerned over possible limitations which lesser men might wish to impose. Preaching... teaching... healing, which Jesus did in His earthly ministry are part of the work of the church today so long as they seek to glorify Christ and draw men to Him. The essential



task of the church remains to be a missionary church in the true sense of that term—proclaiming “the redeeming Word, the Word of salvation to a world that is in dire need of this Word” (Lilje).

*Material Relief.* Were it not careful, LWS could spend all its energies on this task. Were it to do no material relief, LWS would give up a valuable means of demonstrating the warmth and compassion of Christian love. In giving relief, LWS might be fostering “rice Christians” or assuming a task which more correctly should be borne by others. Such are only a few of the problems which arise in the handling of material relief such as food, clothing, and medicines.

Obviously, where members of the household of faith are in need of material help which we can give, LWS must act, either directly or by being a medium through which giver and recipient can be brought together. Almost as obviously, LWS has an obligation to act where distress caused by obvious social injustice is acute, as in South Korea or among the Arabs displaced by the formation of Israel. Such sharing in meeting needs stresses the unity of the faith and the common concern for the good of others.

There are many other areas of deep human need, of unending poverty, and of continuing hunger. It is sometimes said that two-thirds of the world's people go to their night's rest still hungry and will not be satisfied on the morrow, either. Illness and strength-sapping diseases exact their toll. What can LWS do, or what should it do, about this general world situation?

With material gifts it can do little more than build sandcastles on the beach, which perhaps the next big wave, certainly the next tide, will demolish. One or two projects of material relief to non-Christians in such areas are justifiable as demonstrations of the interest and concern of Lutherans in their fellowmen. But LWS cannot be good Samaritan for the entire world. It needs, rather, to develop approaches of the positive, community-building sort. In co-operation with its member churches it would wisely seek ways and means by which individuals, groups, corporations, and govern-

ments can build up the resources and productivity of these lands, in partnership with those already living and working in the area. It needs to be an exercise in stimulating and guiding personal, corporate, community, and civic responsibility rather than in fashioning new projects of material relief. Judicious use of loan funds rather than outright gifts or the offer of matching funds might become tools to use in areas of meager resources as a means of building up productive capacity.

“Rice Christians” represent a hazard not because of a possible misuse of a few gifts but because they are people who for some material rewards have become untrue to themselves. What concerns me more is the danger that the donors of goods and money used for material relief will become smug and satisfied with their own good works. LWS might well work with the member churches in avoiding this danger. Promotional literature which stresses human misery may bring many gifts out of pity, but may fail to help the givers grow in a sense of personal fellowship or of thanks for the opportunity to share. Understanding, recognition of the common bond of fellowship, growth in discipleship, and realization that the suffering or distressed person can teach sound lessons in God's Kingdom are fruits which should come to members of the giving churches. In proportion, perhaps the question of “rice Christians” is minor.

*Co-operative Activities.* Obviously LWS is an agency of ecumenical co-operation. It brings member Lutheran churches into co-operative activities and Lutherans into co-operation both with world Protestantism and with agencies, governmental and voluntary alike, which seek to advance human welfare. It is living proof of the fact that Lutherans, too, have accepted the world-wide trend toward helpful co-operation between and among those who recognize themselves as kindred spirits.

In areas where there are Lutheran churches, LWS naturally and wisely works co-operatively with these churches. Where there are no Lutheran churches but where Lutheran activity seems

indicated, LWS co-operates closely with counterpart departments of the World Council of Churches. Although some Lutheran groups might question the propriety of such ecumenical co-operation, I am sure that those who are members of the Lutheran World Federation are genuinely convinced of the wisdom and soundness of the co-operative approach to the tasks with which LWS deals. The same, I surmise, would hold true also for co-operation in common aims with other voluntary and with governmental agencies. Funds can be accepted and disbursed and common cause made even with such agencies so long as the essential freedom and the essential task of the Church are not compromised. Did not Jesus Himself encourage making friends with the "mammon of unrighteousness"? So long as the goal is genuine service to human beings in need of a particular kind of help which the LWS is in a position to give, without compromise of the work or principles of the Church and without institutional self-aggrandizement or institutional self-perpetuation, I see not only no harm but even much good in LWS serving as a medium for contact and co-operation with non-church agencies.

### Conclusion

LWS is a world-wide organization whose tasks are similar to those of Inner Missions. The principles and concepts of the latter can and already do guide the work of LWS. On some of the specific issues and questions facing the LWS Commission, it perhaps would welcome the thinking of the Commission on Inner Missions. The thoughts expressed in this paper are only exploratory, and are intended to stimulate discussion of the many related questions and issues. In no sense are they to be regarded as either final or authoritative. Perhaps into the discussions might even come the question of whether the two commissions actually should be drawn closer together or whether the Commission on World Service should be enlarged to become more clearly representative of Inner Missions.

Carl F. Reuss

## Theology

### A New Lutheran Journal

One of the most remarkable and most gratifying trends in post-war German church life is the considerable and ever-increasing interest of theologians and the church in Scandinavian scholarship. First, it was perhaps the relief after many years of spiritual isolation that made German scholars eager for every report of the theological life in the Scandinavian area, but there was also real striving for genuine agreement and encounter.

This interest, and this passion to meet, considerably enriched German scholarship. Provinces like Swedish Luther research and its results became familiar concepts. The names and writings of the younger generation of scholars such as Haikola, Haeggblund, Hillerdahl, Fagerberg, Vajta, and others received considerable attention, not least because their studies were available in German. This, of course, applies as well to the work of the older generation like Nygren, Bring, Wingren, and others.

Beyond this, there actually materialized diverse meetings of Scandinavian and German scholars, productive collaboration, and mutual exchange. The writer remembers with pleasure many a guest lecture given by Nordic theologians at Heidelberg. In addition to such lectures, mention should be made of the Nordic-German Theological Convention, another result of such co-operation.

Now, at the beginning of this year, German-Scandinavian collaboration brought forth another fruit—after long and involved preparatory discussion. January saw the appearance of the first number of *Kerygma und Dogma* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen), a quarterly "journal of theological inquiry and church doctrine".

We hold that anyone who nowadays launches a new journal must furnish evidence that there is need of it and that the new publication actually has something special, something new to offer.

The editors' names, scholars from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and



Germany, lead the reader to expect something solid, and sound research. It is a venture for theologians from several countries to join in this kind of a project in this day and age. Such an undertaking should therefore attract the widest support, that is, a large group of readers. The circle of editors appears to warrant our expectation of actually original, superior contributions to scholarly research. We expect this in large measure because several countries where characteristic inquiry is in progress are involved.

There is something else: the sub-title, "a journal of theological inquiry and church doctrine", is more than a mere title; it is a program, and an essential program at that. It is, indeed, generally recognized that theology belongs into the church, that it is a function of the church. But many a theologian shies away from any co-ordination of theology and church dogma accomplished with evident purpose.

For all this, *Kerygma und Dogma* is certainly no organ of Lutheran confessional theology or any suspect confessionalism. On the contrary, both the topics of articles published so far and the listing of the editorial group indicate a wide theological range. Scholars are included who could hardly be regarded as confessional or confessionalistic Lutherans, for instance Heinrich Vogel, Berlin; Oscar Cullmann, Basel; K. E. Skyds-gaard, Copenhagen.

Indicative of this range is the journal's attempt to encompass all areas of inquiry that—preserving precise scientific integrity—have a positive bearing on church dogma, even beyond the actual confines of theology. Here we have such essays as Roger Mehl's "Das ethische Problem in der französischen Existential-philosophie" (the ethical problem in French Existentialist philosophy) or—with a grain of salt—Gloege's study of theological personalism as a dogmatic issue.

Something else in the new undertaking appears significant: the attempt to bridge the gulf between exegetes and systematicians, a gulf that for decades has had a detrimental effect both on

theological inquiry and church dogma. A review of the articles in the issues published thus far will confirm this impression. A paper such as that by the New Testament scholar Cullmann "Zur Frage der Erforschung der neutestamentlichen Christologie" (on studies of New Testament christology) will provoke systematic considerations (which have, in part, been anticipated by the author). The same applies to Dahl's discussions of the historical Jesus "as a historical and theological problem". In turn, the inquiry into "the Augsburg Confession and the Roman Catholic Sacrifice of the Mass"—apart from opening up perfectly new perspectives for the study of our confessions—calls for reconsideration of the New Testament statements on the presence of Christ, the Sacrament, and sacrifice—surely matters of the utmost urgency in view of Catholicism's reform of the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

The attempt to bridge this gulf would not, as such, be news. For our theologians are—at least theoretically—aware that exegete and systematician need one another. What is remarkable is that for once this interrelationship finds expression in a joint program. Here the editors have ventured into a field where cultivation cannot fail to produce abundant fruit for theological inquiry and church doctrine.

Here is a journal engaged in bridge-building: bridges between scholarship in different countries, bridges across the stabilized fronts of theory and practice, bridges between theological disciplines that have frequently co-existed without contact. And if we stated in the beginning that a new journal nowadays must really offer something special in order to justify its right of existence, we feel that for *Kerygma und Dogma* the proof of this pudding lies in the reading of the issues so far available. We can only eagerly await such forthcoming contributions as E. Ellwein's on "the enigma of Romans 7", "Old Testament wisdom literature" by Gerhard von Rad, "Luther and Karl Barth on the Extra Calvinisticum", and numerous others.

Hans H. Weissgerber

# FROM LANDS AND CHURCHES

## *The Netherlands*

### **The First International Conference on Lutheran Church Music in Amsterdam (September 23—27, 1955)**

#### **The Background**

Music has its own laws. It cannot deny those laws when it is used in the church. But having its own statutes does not mean that music under some pretext may avoid serving Him who has created it.

To be sure, music in its diverse forms may stand in the service of God without therefore being church music. Church music is such music as the Church of Jesus Christ has particularly appropriated for her worship life so that it fulfils a function in the living relationship between the Lord and His congregation.

This conference, the first of its kind within the compass of the Lutheran Church, sought to concentrate throughout on church music in its biblical characteristics.

It was therefore not by accident that the first day was devoted chiefly to illuminating the basic connection between divine worship and church music, beginning with the opening remarks going straight to the center of things by the co-organizer of the meeting, Willem Mudde of Utrecht, director of the host *Lutherse Werkgroep voor Kerkmuzik* (Lutheran Study Commission on Church Music). The guests paid particular attention to the theological portion of his remarks, especially in as much as they came from a cantor.

The lecture by Dr. Vilmos Vajta, director of the Lutheran World Federation Department of Theology, on "the theological basis and limits of the Evangelical Lutheran liturgy" led more deeply into the relationship. He marked the danger of ritualism (liturgical struc-

ture lacking sufficient theological foundation) as unsparingly as the danger of theological intellectualism and individualism, for theology that does not issue in liturgy becomes mere intellectual exercise.

After such considerations, the lecturer placed formless worship beyond permissible bounds, for it falsely practices the freedom of the Spirit, leading to a new works-righteousness (in the achievement of inspired man!). The boundary line against all legalistic order was given equal emphasis, for here there is an attempt to command the living activity of the Spirit by a pre-determined form.

These limits allowed the following to be inferred as a basis for the order of worship:

- 1) Formlessness is opposed by the order of love;
- 2) Legalism is opposed by the freedom of faith.

In this temporal world, the Church as a community requires order for the sake of love; the deliverance of man by Christ axiomatically includes freedom from all ceremonies.

What remains binding is solely the preaching of the Word and the employment of the Sacraments. The dialectic tension between the order of love and the freedom from ceremonies ought to be maintained.

This foundation was extended in the talk that Dr. Oskar Söhngen, Berlin, gave on "the liturgy as source and limit of church music". He offered three theses as the exegetical product of the central biblical passages, Eph. 5:19 and Col. 3:16:

- 1) The original Christian congregations knew and practiced song as an element of their spiritual life;
- 2) we are today no longer capable of an exact distinction between odes, hymns, etc; there is here, at any rate, wealth that must be assumed to include both pieces worked by the Spirit (improvised) and established formulas;
- 3) the driving impulse comes from the Holy Spirit, the Word of Christ. Founda-



tion and meaning of song are: the Word of Christ.

After delving into Zwinglian influences on the Evangelical churches' attitude to church music, illustrated by the example, among others, of 16th and 17th century Netherland organ music that detached itself entirely from worship, the speaker emphasized the indissoluble connection between liturgy and church music, classically illustrated in the worship service developed with a Lutheran orientation.

Noting that church music had laws inherent in its nature as music, the lecturer pointed out the resultant fruitful tension between liturgy and church music; in this relationship the double polarity of order and freedom was as much in evidence as in the shaping of the liturgy itself. The more seriously church music was regarded as an art, the greater would be its practical value as church music.

In closing, the talk completed the picture by tracing the forms and possibilities of church music as provided by the liturgy.

### From Theory to Practice

A first critical application of these principles was provided by Professor Egon Hajek's, Vienna, study on "the intellectual mission of Johann Sebastian Bach". In the lively discussion that followed, it became clear that a grateful assent to Bach's gigantic work does not preclude a careful investigation of the liturgical suitability of his cantatas, in particular. The Lutheran church must not lose its critical perspective even in the face of such an inestimable, divinely favored human achievement, if she takes the *sola scriptura* seriously.

This analysis of the music, so largely determined by Luther's Reformation, of J. S. Bach, proved to be an attempt to deal with the practical questions with which our history confronts us.

It is almost impossible to lay too much stress on the opportunity that the conference participants had of experiencing a concrete contemporary example; it could not have been more appropriate to the total topic: The new order of service

and the new hymnal of the Lutheran Church in the Netherlands were introduced at a festive morning service on September 25, 1955, exactly half-way through the conference. The previous day, the Dutch church's leading theologian, Professor Willem J. Kooiman, explained the steps of development that had finally led to the new order of worship to the delegates. Professor P. Boendermaker, pioneer of hymnal revision in Holland, illuminated the outcome of hymnological endeavors which consciously seek to stand in the greater context of the entire Lutheran Church and also within the particular context of Holland's history.

All who look at and try to accomplish their own work within the overall pattern of the Church were grateful and happy to discover the Dutch example. When Lutheran pastors from the various districts of Holland offered bread and wine during the service of the Sacrament to the delegates from all over the world, to the numerous choristers who had come from all parts of Holland, and to the parishioners from Amsterdam, while solemn music *sub communionem* celebrated the presence of the Lord, we experienced at the same time something of ecumenical breadth and of closely uniting brotherhood. The parish night that same evening, with its greetings presented in the delegates' various languages, likewise demonstrated what it means to celebrate the presence of the Lord Christ in His service by song, prayer, and praise and on the basis of this center to be united, one with another. That is true theology, averse to unchristian spiritualism; that is living the creed, rooted in worship and sustained by it.

### Fraternal Exchange

If you want to become acquainted and help one another, you must allow each other a look at your own way of life. If the fullness of the riches of God as manifested in the liturgy and the church music of the different Lutheran churches is to become intelligible, if on the other hand the symptoms of human perversion

in these areas are to experience the brotherly service of criticism and assistance, then many a spade must be called a spade. The purposely small group of thirty delegates from ten countries provided a favorable setting for a brotherly exchange of experiences.

The reports from different countries which had wisely been spread over the whole meeting offered an ever interesting glimpse of the position of church music in the individual churches. The sometimes quite divergent lines of development stood out as did the extensive common possessions which we gladly acknowledge, though they are at times beginnings, not fully realized. Reference was repeatedly and gratefully made to the central position of German Evangelical church music. Many a listener responded almost with relief when the report on the situation in Germany, given by the undersigned, did not pass over the problems and shortcomings; it showed that conditions which from a distance frequently appear ideal are at bottom just as much encumbered with difficulties as those elsewhere. The seven German participants, in turn, noted with honest admiration how the four nordic churches, for instance, have for years labored jointly to reform the liturgy and church music, as appeared from the survey of "inter-nordic relationships in the area of church music" by Finnish Magister Enzo Forsblom, from Helsinki. The lecture by Dr. Arthur Adell, Söderköping, Swedish expert on Gregorian music, recalled to us the rich liturgical heritage of the Swedish church which surely could prove increasingly profitable to all. The Norwegians' lively interest in the general development was expressed in the two reports by Pastor Angar Sandvik, Trondheim, and Pastor Hans Buvarp, Oslo, and by the fact that they had sent five delegates.

The actual report on the situation in Sweden was made by Cantor Sten Carlsson, Gamla-Uppsala; that on Denmark by organist Carl Johan Grum, Naestved, and that on Finland by Magister Taneli Kuusisto, Helsinki.

The smaller Lutheran churches that were represented and reported at Amsterdam (France: Pastor E. Muller, Broux-

villers; Holland: Cantor Willem Mudde, Utrecht; Italy: Dekan Erich Dahlgrün, Florence; Austria: Pastor Friedrich Mauer, St. Agyd/Neuwald) above all gave us an idea of the great importance that liturgy and church music of a Lutheran cast attain in the whole life of the church, especially in the diaspora, which so frequently means financially poor churches.

The totally different situation in the USA was outlined in the general report given by Professor Kooiman who had just returned from a lengthy journey through North America, and in the account of Professor Theo. Hoelty-Nickel, Valparaiso, which was largely devoted to the position of music in the churches. It appears that it is there more than usually difficult to pay due respect to the times, the congregations, and the relevant demands of liturgy and church music themselves. There too, the collaboration of Lutheran churches can find a formidable task.

### Current Issues

It will be up to future conferences to select and deal with particular issues of common interest. Two lectures in the second part of the conference were given over to more current topics, making a preliminary survey of this territory, as it were. Dr. Söhnngen traced the "forces of renewal in church music". Alert attention was given to our era's whole intellectual situation; against this background, an extremely favorable appraisal was made of the development of contemporary church music. Even though surely not all the German participants are inclined to render such a positive judgment, they all do undoubtedly gratefully acknowledge the existence of modern church music. One conference evening, Cantor Mudde with his Motet Choir and at the organ contributed most impressive examples to bring out one fact: There is modern Evangelical church music.

This reporter sought to demonstrate in a talk on "church music and the congregation" that all church music serves the community that God has called and redeemed; both worship and the many



diverse forms that church music has developed must be taken seriously if it is to retain its biblical characteristic of service.

### Future Co-operation

The meeting convinced all participants that further collaboration is not only desirable but essential for our concern. The means were quickly agreed upon in brotherly consultation: A six-member continuation committee made up of two American representatives and one each from the Scandinavian churches, the smaller churches, Germany and, last not least, the Lutheran World Federation was charged with advancing the work. The members are: Cantor Sten Carlsson, Gamla-Uppsala; Prof. Theo. Hoelty-Nickel, Valparaiso (Indiana); Pastor Friedrich Hofmann, Heilbronn; Cantor Willem Mudde, Utrecht; a representative of the LWF, yet to be named; a representative of the National Lutheran Council, USA, yet to be appointed. The German representative was elected chairman.

Among the immediate tasks are the planning of a next meeting tentatively scheduled for Sweden, and the preparation of suggestions for an organization to draw together all interested groups and persons. Topics proposed for general collaboration in the future included: Gregorianism and the vernacular; the organ in the Lutheran church; the theological justification of music; church music in the missions and the younger churches; the bearing of church music on parish life; problems raised by mechanical reproduction of music and by electronic music; exchange of literature.

It was repeatedly agreed that no false confessional confinement was intended. In principle, participation is open to all who approve a Lutheran trend in church music. One thing is apparent: A true ecumenical discussion of church music can be productive only after the Lutheran churches have come to understand more clearly than hitherto the fundamental connection between confession and church music.

All in all, was this just another conference in a conference-eager age, or was

it perhaps something more? I am convinced that conferences can bear fruit if, as we did in Amsterdam, we seek to illuminate our practical problems from Scripture instead of placing human knowledge and arts in the forefront. The hospitable Lutheran Church of Holland, whose Synodal President, Dr. Johannes P. van Heest, himself devoted much time to the gathering, had excellently provided also for the bodily welfare of the guests. Thus the ample insights and stimuli provided by the lectures and conversations, and the experienced presence of true brotherhood furnished everyone with new joy and readiness to practice the ministry of the praise of God.

Friedrich Hofmann

## Indonesia

### Christian Education in the Batak Church

Looking back towards the middle of the nineteenth century when the first missionaries made contact with the heathen Bataks, in order to determine the state of education that obtained at that time, we see that the missionaries assembled students about them to teach them to read the Bible. It was somewhat similar to the time of the Reformation, when schools were not yet secularized and instruction had the solitary purpose of teaching pupils to read the Holy Scriptures.

The mission in Batakland was in the favorable position of having entered this territory in advance of the Dutch colonizers, save for a very few localities. Thus the mission-founded schools did not have to face competition from the schools that the colonial government very soon established in the territories it conquered, to alleviate the lack of trained local personnel.

For decades, all the schools in Batakland were mission schools. When the Dutch colonial government annexed the whole Batak territory after the assassination of the Batak priestly prince Singa Mangeradje, in 1907, they decided to

leave the founding of schools in general to the mission. This had its drawback in that persons originally trained for church positions as catechists were frequently persuaded by the Dutch government to accept civil service positions. Two of the five trainees in the first course of 1868 and one of the twelve trainees in the following class went into government service.

On the whole it may be said that Batak schools were in the hands of missionaries from the beginning of the missionary work until 1940 when the German missionaries were either interned or expelled because of the war. They were almost all elementary schools, generally with a five-year curriculum; Dutch was taught in a few schools with a seven-year course. Up to the beginning of the war we had only two secondary schools (*Mulo-scholen*), one of which was the Christian Nommensen-Mulo. If you wanted to continue your studies you had to go to Java. However, besides the schools we had a teacher's seminary to train instructors for the elementary schools. The most gifted teachers were selected as candidates for the ministry, who used to be trained at Sipoholon near Tarutung, site of the teachers' training school. Finally we might mention the unique school for chieftains' sons which unfortunately did not long survive. It was hoped that this school might train a generation of chiefs of sound Christian upbringing and education from which the people might benefit. Unfortunately this type of school disappointed the hopes of the missionaries, and after only a few years it was turned into a teachers' seminary.

Up to 1940 all instructors at the mission's elementary schools were "preacher-teachers" who carried out parish work in addition to their service in the schools. The year 1940 brought a change. When the German missionaries were arrested the "Zendingsconsulaat" created a mission, the "Batak-Nias-Zending", to take over the work of the Rhenish Mission. This the Batak Church did not want; she wished to be independent. The result was considerable tension between the Batak Church and the Zendingsconsulaat, and also the Dutch colonial government which

backed it. The Batak Church succeeded in maintaining her independence, but this was followed by difficulties with the preacher-teachers.

Almost all the many hundreds of mission schools had been subsidized by the colonial government. They were placed under the supervision of missionaries who functioned as "Beheerder" (administrators) with far-reaching authority. After the German missionaries were arrested, the government placed the missionary schools under the jurisdiction of the newly-created Batak-Nias-Zending. As a result, the preacher-teachers no longer felt themselves under obligation to the church. Some no longer wished to be involved with parish work, while a large proportion maintained only very loose ties with the church. Only a few remained loyal to the old tasks.

The relationship between church and school remained more or less bearable after 1940, but the estrangement of the school from the church was deepened under Japanese rule in Indonesia (1942-45). The Japanese also brought new ideas into the country which teachers had to transmit to their students.

After the atomic bomb exploded over Hiroshima, the Japanese had to evacuate Indonesia. The Indonesians proclaimed their independence from Dutch colonial power. During the ensuing fight for freedom (1945-50) and in the years following, the schools passed under the administration of the Indonesian government. Even though the Batak church has long since demanded the release of its former missionary schools, the government has only recently promised to return these schools "gradually" and under certain conditions. The teachers are partly to blame for the slowness with which this is proceeding, for they have not supported the church's demands. How long it will take until all former missionary schools of the Batak Church are returned has yet to be seen.

### Education in the Family

It cannot really be said that among the pagan Bataks the family exercises a molding influence upon the education of its children. If you were to speak of edu-



cation at all, you would say that it is the whole clan that brings up the children, though from a Western point of view one can hardly regard this as "education". While a European mother will, for instance, feed her child only certain hours, a Batak mother will feed her child whenever it cries. As the child gradually grows older everything around it will have to be run according to its wishes. The child does not obey the parents; on the contrary, the parents will do everything the child may desire or demand. Probably this is a consequence of the religious ideas of the heathen Bataks. They believe that the soul is pre-existent and continues to live after death, independent of the body. It is possible to insult or anger the soul; thus if a child demands something and its will is not complied with, the child's soul might feel offended and leave its body for spite so that the child will fall sick or even die. Thus the Batak thinks he must grant the child whatever it demands in order not to offend its soul. The child rules the home. It does not know obedience in the European sense; whatever enters its head must be carried out.

When the heathen Batak becomes a Christian he leaves behind all these concepts and ideas that are foreign to Christianity. But the transmission of Christian ideas encounters difficulties. Actually, each home should provide for a daily reading of Holy Scripture. However, at the beginning of christianization when the Holy Scriptures had not yet been translated and converts were not yet able to read, this was not generally possible. The missionaries recognized this deficiency and tried to remedy it. Before people went to their daily work in the mornings the missionaries assembled them in the churches where they read the Bible together and praised God in song and prayer. This also provided catechetical instruction for the not yet baptized. There was a similar assembly in the evenings. At six o'clock in the morning and in the evening the bell was rung; you were to be quiet for some minutes and pray to God, regardless of whether you were at work or on a stroll. Even today in the third and fourth generation the bell is rung at these same

times, but people no longer know its significance.

As time went by, separate books of the Bible and finally the whole Scriptures were translated, and people began to read the Bible at home, and consequently the morning and evening assemblies gradually came to an end. About thirty years ago, von Bogatsky's book of devotions was translated into the Batak tongue, and recently a children's Bible by Annie de Vries, a Dutchwoman, was also translated into our language. It is much used in homes as well as in the schools. Besides these two translated books, a church almanac also has a great appeal. Frequently, however, it is used for "choosing days", that is, it is used as a book of "oracles" to help select a propitious day for particular activities or plans. Among the pagans in Batakland it is the practice to ask a magician to select a "favorable" day when planning some undertaking such as building a house, going on a journey, or marrying. This heathen practice has now been taken up by Christians. In this area the minister still has his hands full.

When I said in the beginning that one cannot speak of education among the Bataks, I referred to education in the European sense, carried out under definite pedagogic criteria. Even though such conscious education is lacking, we cannot deny that the Christian Bataks provide much unconscious education. If elders witness to their liberation from the powers of darkness and heathenism, when witchcraft, feuds, robbery, murder, and cannibalism were daily occurrences and tell how they became Christians, then that also is instruction in a certain sense. Whoever has tasted the glory of redemption cannot keep silent; he must testify to the deeds of God who in His mercy has turned deepest darkness into bright light. Thus the Christian home is the germ-cell of the congregation, with the father as priest and the mother as priestess. The Christian home as such has a missionary effect upon the growing children who hear about God's great deeds from their parents (*cf.* Deuteronomy 6:4-9).

Speaking of the "Christian home" we must not limit this concept to the family

in a biologic sense; it should more generously include house and home. I know of cases where an employer begins the day together with his employees with prayer and hymns, or where he provides a half-hour each week when his employees may hold a Bible study directed by either a pastor or a preacher-teacher.

Despite all these good examples of education in the Batak church we must openly admit that some parents are not truly aware of the commitments and responsibilities which they undertook at their child's baptism, even though it is a custom in the Batak church that parents attend two discussions on Baptism prior to its administration. All the same, very few parents are aware of how their children's upbringing is involved with their baptism.

### Christian Instruction in the Schools

Reading and writing were originally taught in order that the congregation might better understand the Word of God and the sermon. This schoolwork did of course serve not only the church but also the world. Initially the elementary school teachers were catechists. They had to take a four-year course in the seminaries where they were trained. Half this time they spent absorbing theological knowledge.

Naturally, religious instruction commands an important position in the elementary schools (the so-called mission schools). Every day is begun and ended with prayer and song. Religion classes take place during the day's first period. The teachers of these mission schools were active not only in the schools but devoted a large proportion of their free time to parish work. In addition, they also held services on Sunday. Without these preacher-teachers the ever-progressing mission work that opened up new fields of endeavor every year would not have been possible.

The place that trains these preacher-teachers also exerts an educational influence. In the seminary, where six of them under a Senior share a room, they learn communal life, patience with their neighbor, forgiving his errors and weaknesses, and to bend their personal

preferences and desires to the common purpose. Great stress is placed upon cleanliness, order, and personal discipline. Some of this always becomes second nature, and the elementary schools—and thus large sections of the people—will benefit. The missionaries select the best of the teachers, and after a two-year training course they send them out as *panditas* (indigenous pastors as distinct from missionaries). Those who take the course bring their families along to benefit from this period of quiet training and composure. In the beginning indigenous pastors were under the supervision of missionaries, but gradually the work was placed on their shoulders to condition them to the burden and to arouse a feeling of responsibility in them. Of course, their training has to be continued beyond these courses. Thus conferences are held for the preacher-teachers as well as for the pastors where they receive new stimulation and insight.

When the Japanese came into the land with their new ideas, religious instruction was prohibited in practice even though there was no official order. Japanese religious and cultural heritage had to be absorbed instead. Many a teacher and preacher met a martyr's death, yet even so it is regrettable that no determined and unanimous "No" was uttered. Can one imagine a more courageous witness to the might of God's dominion over the world than if these teachers had all voiced their protest at the time? The church is now burdened with the fruits of this failure. A young generation is growing up which knows so pitifully little of the Bible that even four years of confirmation instruction in place of the present two would not be likely to remedy the situation.

Most of the elementary school teachers do not wish to submit to church supervision. More over they fear material disadvantages since it is rumored that the state will provide only part of the running expenses should the schools return into the hands of the church.

One of the means that should be used to resolve tensions between the church



and the teaching profession is the establishment of general study committees of teachers and pastors in all parishes and synods. If you desire schools that do more than simply bear a Christian name, then the conversation between church and school must be kept alive as a brotherly exchange and must be maintained by a unanimous desire to listen to one another.

What is the attitude of the present government in these issues? The former colonial government maintained one ministry of religion and education, while at present there are two ministries, one for religion and another for education. Christian religious instruction in the schools is regulated in consultation with the two ministries according to the stipulation of "Peraturan Menteri Agama" No. 9/1952, III, 2. It is further provided that in schools attended by students with differing religious affiliation a teacher of religion may be employed for a class where at least ten students belong to the same religious community (IV, 4). The respective church (religious community) is to employ, or may dismiss, the teacher of religion (IV, 5). The religious community (or denomination) may set up a teaching curriculum and submit it to the two ministries. If the curriculum is approved, instruction will then be based upon it. I am informed that the HKBP (the Batak church) has taken up this offer. To complete the picture it should be said that the ministry for religious affairs also employs religious instructors in hospitals, factories, and prisons.

As a consequence of the church-school tension, some teachers were no longer prepared to give religious instruction. The church was therefore forced to employ "laymen". These are usually elders whose theological knowledge frequently shows considerable gaps. Catechists' courses will therefore have to be set up and much more must be done in order to ensure a supply of truly Christian teachers.

### Youth Work, Confirmation Classes, Sunday School, Post-Confirmation Instruction

Before the war, we could say with pride that Batak church youth work was exemplary. We may gratefully mention

the name of Dr. Verwiebes who did a great deal for youth before he became ephorus of the Batak church. During the Japanese occupation, youth work suffered so grievously that only ruins remained. The new system claimed the time of young people to such a degree that their strength and all their interest had to be devoted exclusively to the new ideas. Thus youth became indifferent to all religion. Dissolution spread when the fight for liberty with the Dutch government began. Indonesia's freedom commanded all one's thought and time.

It is unnecessary to point out what difficult tasks here await the church. Since the war, every synod has continually discussed this, and the church does all in its power to free youth from this distress. Recently we have heard much that is gratifying in the Batak church's reports, and we hope that shortly, after missionary Berghäuser arrives to take over youth work, we can expect even better things.

The gaps in Christian general education show up in confirmation instruction. The pastor or the teacher finds a class which does not even know who Adam and Eve were. If instruction now is to take two years instead of one, then parents complain, or they say: "It used to be different. Have the teachers become so dumb that they can no longer cover the material in one year?" Sunday School, too, deteriorated during the turbulent period. Only when times returned to normal did an improvement set in. But much more is yet to be done. In some congregations, children of all ages are assembled in one classroom regardless of numbers. But larger congregations do divide the children into four age groups, following the Westhill method. An Indonesian Sunday School paper seeks to be of some aid to men and women teachers. According to latest reports the "flannelgraph method" is now used in Pearadja.

Post-confirmation instruction for adults has caused us less concern. We are grateful that the missionaries who came to us always emphasized "the universal priesthood of all believers", making almost everyone into a missionary—particularly in the mission's initial period. The congregation assembled in worship is the

core of church education. She is to be the city on the hill where life is lived according to the divine Word. And it is precisely in a territory where Christians constitute a small band in the midst of pagans and Mohammedans that power can be exerted by living under the Word and acknowledging Christ. The mission is in the fortunate position to be able to fall back upon an ancient custom of the Batak: on many occasions such as weddings, deaths, and other joyful or sad events, people assemble not merely in the family circle among relatives but, one might say, the whole village—with all friends and acquaintances—is involved. The missionary encounters a motley crowd: Christians, Mohammedans, and pagans. In such a situation not only the missionary but every Christian person carries out mission, and the Christians take the opportunity to comfort each other and to tell each other of the admonitions of the Word of God.

The picture that has been presented may destroy many an illusion. The new century has broken into our church with all its revolutionary force and ideas, and each encounter takes place largely in the area of education. No one can say how we shall meet this test. But we all join in the supplication that God may preserve us in His care and in His discipline in all that may befall.

Andar Lumbantobing

## India

### 250 Years After

#### The Emergence of Evangelical Churches of India

The aim of all missionary work is to call out men and women from the world and to build them up into the people of God, nurturing them in the Word of God. The significance of the work of Ziegenbalg and of the Tranquebar Mission was spot-lighted in the context of the great gathering of the World Church at Tambaram around Christmas, 1938. It

was a thrill and inspiration to see church representatives from 70 different nations gathering for the first time in the history of the Christian Church. That the churches of the East were taking their place side by side with the older churches from the West in such large numbers was an impressive testimony to Ziegenbalg's achievement, the remarkable event whose quarter-millennium the Church in India and representatives of the World Church are going to celebrate.

This article deals with the development of Christian work in India since the outbreak of World War I. This period may well be characterized as one of the emergence of Evangelical churches in India and the East, as well as in new areas of Africa. Our God who is the God of history has been shaping all things towards His divine ends, and the last 50-year period of the quarter-millennium that followed the historic event of Ziegenbalg's landing on the shores of Tranquebar is a period of steady growth of the Younger Churches in vitality, and of their impact on the world. Of the various movements shaped and directed by the God of history and the Lord of the Church and the creative forces released during this half-century, a few deserve special notice.

*A Witnessing Church.* The famous formula describing the aim of all mission work as the growth of indigenous churches aiming at "self-support, self-administration, and self-propagation" received a certain measure of emphasis in all areas during the latter half of the 19th century, though it was nothing new. Even Ziegenbalg's great ambition was that all the people of *Tamilnad*<sup>1</sup> should be brought into the Church of the Tamil people. And all his activities were directed towards building up strong congregational life and Christian witness of the people through the Word of God, spoken and published, and training workers in the Seminary he founded in 1716. But Charles Venn's watch-word of 1851 had its unmistakable influence upon the outlook of those engaged in missionary effort. The faithful ministry of the Word among the people with its message of pardon and peace, life and salvation, and of service in the power of the Spirit had, through



the long history of the Tranquebar Mission, won its silent victories, through the witness of the Indian *bhakta*<sup>2</sup> who took the message to his neighbor and helped the growth of the indigenous church. The love of Christ shed abroad in the hearts of His *bhaktas* by the Holy Spirit constrained them to speak of the Lord of love, the Giver of peace and joy and the Transformer of their own lives. In recounting the labors of any missionary society one can never forget the work of the Holy Spirit in using indigenous believers to bear witness.

*Movements of the 20th Century.* Fifty years ago the Church seemed more foreign in India and other lands of the East than she is today. The Gospel had a foreign mold, and the church pattern was Western to such an extent that even today the Church is suspect among the vast majority of the people of India and other lands. Even more serious was the lack of confidence of Christian nationals in themselves. The growth of the national movement and many factors that fostered its development (including Japan's great victory in 1905) created among the people a new confidence in themselves. This wide national awakening could not but have its effect on Christian nationals and their outlook in church matters. The birth of the National Missionary Society on Christmas Day 1905 was a remarkable testimony to the reaction of the Christian national to the total situation in the land and in the Church. In the providence of God, the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 with its ecumenical outlook widened the vision of the Church as a World Church, in which the churches of the East were to take their part along with the churches of the West. Men like V.S. Azariah were caught by this world vision that released a creative force within the life of the indigenous church in every land outside old christendom.

*World War I.* For the continuity of missionary work, the war proved a disaster, especially for the work of German missions in India and elsewhere. But the Lord of the Church overruled this dire disaster to foster His own divine ends. The removal of missionaries from many mission fields meant that a new responsibility was laid on the indigenous church. In India, two

Churches emerged autonomous as a result of the war: the *Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church* was organized on January 14, 1919 as an independent church, if only in the restricted sphere of congregational, elementary educational, and evangelistic activities, and the *Gossner Evangelical Lutheran Church*, which had declared its autonomy on July 10, 1919, taking over responsibility for all the activities of the former Gossner Mission, though assisted by an Advisory Board which was responsible to the then National Missionary Council, and the Board of Trustees responsible to the Government of India through the then Government of Bihar and Orissa. Leaders of other Protestant missions, including other Lutheran bodies, felt that as a consequence of the war, the Tamil and the Gossner churches had taken a great step forward in the direction of building up a strong indigenous Church in India. What happened in these two churches was but a prelude to the formation of similar church organizations all over India.

*Financial Difficulties of Supporting Missions.* With the rise of Hitler to power in 1933, difficulties arose regarding remittances from Germany. Earlier, the USA had passed into a financial depression. Dr. C. W. Oberdorfer writes in *The Lutheran Enterprise in India*, "The American financial depression which set in severely in 1934 had an adverse effect upon the work of the mission, especially along evangelistic lines, and at a time when prospects seemed most ripe for an advance all along the line . . . It has nevertheless been in certain respects a blessing in disguise. Due to lack of foreign funds, it has caused a shifting of emphasis from paid evangelism to self-support."

The two American missions in Andhra, and the Gossner, Jeypore, and Tamil Lutheran churches of the former German mission fields faced difficult times. As for the Tamil Church, the Church of Sweden stood by with a helping hand. But even the CSM, always generous in meeting every real need, felt that the situation was a call to the Swedish and Leipzig missions and the Tamil Church to re-think the policy and program of their co-operative effort. As a result, a

reorganization was effected in the Tamil Church, leading to the formation of a strong school administration, whose benefit was later increasingly realized. Today the School Board stands under the leadership of an Indian chairman who has shouldered the responsibility with vision and ability, bringing to bear upon its work his experience in varied activities in educational and other spheres.

*World War II.* This time not only the German missions but also the Danish Missionary Society with its fields in Tamilnad and Orissa and the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches with its fields in Bihar, Bengal and Assam, were severely affected by the war. Fortunately, the economic position in America was so good that the Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions (CYCOM) set up by the National Lutheran Council in the USA was able to step in and render help, through the War Emergency Committee of the Federation of Lutheran Churches in India. World War II found the Federation well-organized to handle Lutheran matters with expedition and effectiveness. One of its objectives was to make the Jeypore Lutheran Church strong and responsible, and a constitution was adopted whereby this church took over the entire work of the mission, missionaries co-operating in the work of the church and its various departments as members of the church.

The Pearl Harbor disaster caused grave concern for Christian work as a whole and seemed to be a call for Christian people to throw full responsibility upon indigenous churches and strengthen them in every way. The United Lutheran Church Mission with clear-sighted vision turned over its whole work to the Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church (AELC) in 1944, and this was ratified in 1950. Since 1944 this church has established the healthy convention that its President should be an Indian, and since 1950 Indian pastors have acted as presidents of the five AELC synods. This was followed by the merger of the two missions in the Tamil area with the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church on January 14, 1950.

The outcome of all the above developments has been that, in the providence

of God, we have today a number of Lutheran churches in India that have taken over full responsibility for the entire Christian work in their area, with missionaries co-operating as members of the church. Five of the ten churches in the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches have Indian presidents, and the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church will receive an Indian bishop as her leader in the course of the Tranquebar Jubilee celebrations, on January 14, 1956.

The Andhra Lutheran Church with over 250,000 members, the Gossner Church with about 190,000, the Tamil Church with 51,000, Jeypore with about 35,000 and the Madhya Pradesh Lutheran Church with about 4,000 members, shoulder full responsibility for the Christian work in their areas. The Arcot Lutheran Church has a unified administration, but the main leadership is still with the missionaries; a reorganization proposal is under consideration. The South Andhra Church, the East Jeypore Church, the Ebenezer Church, and the Sirhadi Church still have dual administrations. We have reason to be thankful that throughout India the Church is ever so much more independent now than she was 50 years ago. With the new government policy of more restricted admission of foreign missionaries to the country, we have cause to be thankful that the affairs of the Church in India have been so directed by the Lord of the Church that at the time of the celebration of the Ziegenbalg Jubilee we can look forward with confidence to the further growth of the Church and her effective witness in this land.

### Lutheran United Efforts

Already in May 1905, at a meeting held at Kodaikanal and attended chiefly by representatives of missionary societies working in the then Madras Presidency, it was decided to organize the All-India Lutheran Conference. In September 1905 this organizational group initiated an organ in English for all Lutheran bodies in the land, namely, *The Gospel Witness* which recently celebrated its golden jubilee. The first ses-



sion of the All-India Lutheran Conference was held January 2-9, 1908, at Guntur; later it met in 1912, after World War I in 1921, and in 1926. The need for a strong indigenous church organization which could speak for all Lutherans in India was strongly felt, especially during the war years and in the immediate post-war period. The All-India Lutheran Conference at its 4th session in 1926, therefore decided to hand over all its activities to an All-India Lutheran church organization. In preparatory meetings of this All-India church body, a constitution was drawn up for a Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (FELC) in India. The first session of its Triennial Conference was held in Ranchi in 1929, and since then the Federation has functioned regularly through its Triennial Conference Meetings, through the Enlarged Executive Meetings held every year around New Year's Day, through the ordinary meetings of the Executive held at least once in the middle of the year, and through its able team of officers.

*The Board of Publication.* From the very beginning the need for a Lutheran monthly was recognized, and *The Gospel Witness* has played an important role in bringing to the Lutheran churches in India knowledge of one another and Lutheran work in other lands, in helping to build them up in the Lutheran heritage, and in considering ways and means of making an effective contribution to the life and thought of the Indian Church and of India's people. Since the FELC was formed, the editing of this monthly journal has been a major responsibility of its Board of Publication.

A publication of very great value has been the *Book of Worship*, prepared by a Federation Committee between 1930 and 1935. This has been translated for use in Hindi and has influenced other liturgies in India. (The Basel Mission Book of Worship, for instance, incorporated in its Holy Communion liturgy the confession of sins from the Federation liturgy, long used in the Tamil Lutheran Church.) Our *Book of Worship* has followed mainly the excellent work done by the United Lutheran

Church of America. The *Cantica Evangelica*, the *Small Catechism* with additional notes from the *Large Catechism*, the *Augsburg Confession*, three excellent pamphlets on the Holy Communion by Swedish theologians, translations of Nathan Söderblom's *Passion of Christ* Parts I and II, and reprints of addresses by Bishop Nygren and other theologians published in the *Gospel Witness* have provided the churches with very useful theological and devotional literature. *The Lutheran Enterprise in India* realized the plan of the 1908 session of the All-India Lutheran Conference to publish a history of the Lutheran missions in India. It has brought this history up-to-date by including the story of the growth and development of the Lutheran churches of India since World War I and the histories of the Lutheran National Missionary Society of India and of the Federation of the Lutheran Churches in India.

*Gurukul.* As early as 1908 the need for a theological college of high standards was recognized. Building on the experience of the first experiment of an All-India Lutheran College, on whose faculty served German, American, Scandinavian, and Indian members (1931-34), the ceaseless efforts of the Federation have given us *Gurukul Lutheran Theological College*, Madras (founded July 17, 1953), as a well-established, first-rate theological institution. Through its international faculty it seeks to make a contribution of utmost value in building the Church and in producing an evangelistic theology which will be of greatest service in our environment of non-Christian religions and ideologies. The work done in these years has been of such high quality that it inspires the Lutheran Church with confidence that as the Church faces the great task of winning the heart and mind of India and of neighboring lands in the coming years, the Lutheran Church in India possesses in Gurukul an instrument meet for the Master's use. As this institution had to be created from scratch, its need to build up a great library is a call to all who are interested in the Christian movement in India and the East.

*The Lutherans and the Ecumenical Movement.* It has been a distinctive feature of the Lutheran Church that she has always been ready, in the spirit of the preface to the Augsburg Confession, to confer with fellow-believers regarding her doctrinal position. In this spirit, conversations with the Church of South India have been carried on, and a great deal of valuable literature has already been produced as a result. It has rendered great service in bringing Lutherans and the Church of South India to an earnest desire to discover the full implications of the Word of God in order to build up the Church's life and equip her for service in the world. We praise the Lord for the new ecumenical spirit that brings together Christians of various schools of thought striving to discover and obey the will of God.

*The Lutheran National Missionary Society of India.* When the National Missionary Society of India, founded in 1905, called upon all Protestant churches in India to share in missionary action in selected fields, each large church being assigned a separate field, a native of Tranquebar, Samuel Gnanabaranam (son of Pastor N. Samuel), was ready to go as a missionary to a Lutheran field. With the enthusiastic backing of congregations and missionaries in the entire Tamil and Telugu area, the Lutheran NMS was organized on Epiphany Day, 1916. When the first FELC Conference met at Ranchi in 1929, this society was approved as the missionary agency of the Federation and, since then, Lutherans in the churches of North India have shared in its work. Since 1951, it has carried the Gospel to three former Indian States: Rewa, Korea (Mid-India), and Surguja. The work initiated in *Surguja*, now carried on as a Federation project through a Board on which the Luth. NMS, the Gossner Church, and the United Lutheran Church Mission are represented, has resulted in the formation of the *Surguja Lutheran Church* with over 2,000 converts since December 1951, strong in faith and courageous witness despite the powerful opposition from Communal organizations, so much deplored by Nehru and the Congress. In *Rewa* the first center at Kotma has a

small church built this year as a memorial of the NMS Golden Jubilee as well as two residences, but Sahdol, the headquarters of a large district, will be our more important center. Strong medical work, essential in making our evangelistic impact effective in this very orthodox Hindu area, is to begin in 1956 as the Ziegenbalg memorial in the Lutheran NMS field. This indigenous mission, the beloved daughter of the churches of the FELC, deserves to be an object of special love and interest to all the older churches who have helped to create the missionary spirit of the Indian Church.

### Our Responsibility

The Federation has been drawing the Lutheran churches together in order to equip them for their larger task of evangelism in India. Every department of the FELC is only an instrument to realize this larger objective. Earnest consideration has been given to the formation of the proposed Evangelical Lutheran Church in India. One of the problems confronting its consummation is the question of church order. Though church order is not of the *esse* of the Church, it can be a matter of much real value. While many Lutheran churches in Europe have adopted an episcopal form of government, and one of our churches, the TELC, already is episcopal, and a few others may be ready to adopt this, the tradition of the home church in America militates against its adoption. Though leading American missionaries themselves feel that in India, more than elsewhere, a constitutional form of episcopacy will be very valuable, there is considerable hesitation, especially in areas where the influence of American tradition is strongly felt. In its eagerness to draw the Missouri Church with its great potential into its co-operative ministry to help realize its major objectives, the Federation has to go slow. Just as Congregationalists and Presbyterians have found it valuable to adopt episcopacy with the object of bringing the Church of South India into closer relationship with the ecumenical Church, and of making it more effective for the Chris-



tian task in India, may not Lutheran bodies now hesitant be ready to waive their hesitations regarding episcopacy for the sake of building up an earnest Lutheran witness in India and help to establish a strong Lutheran Church and bring to bear the fulness of her heritage on the whole Church and community in India and neighboring lands?

The responsibility of the Lutheran Church in India extends even beyond its geographical limits. On the invitation of the late Dr. H. Long of NLC, and of CYCOM, Bishop J. Sandegren has been used of God to bring the Batak Church in Sumatra into fellowship with the wider Church through the Lutheran World Federation. After his first visit to Sumatra, it was immediately recognized that a representative from India would be a good bridgebuilder. As a result, an Indian doctor was sent as the first emissary of the Lutheran World Federation to Sumatra. This was followed by more extensive contacts when an American and an Indian theologian were sent to serve on the staff of the Seminary of the Batak Church at Sipoholon. At the moment, India enjoys a position of great influence in the lands of the East, and it is a matter for very great thankfulness that LWF leaders have recognized this and are not unwilling to make new experiments with a view to bringing this special position of India into the service of Christ and His Church. The Church in India, which is the outcome of missionary work, is a living testimony to the far-reaching influence of Ziegenbalg's heroic enterprise.

India is forging ahead toward its goal of a Welfare State, and it has a long way to go. Nehru and the Congress with their immense influence with the masses are battling not only to overcome stupendous, age-long handicaps but also against the Communalist right and the Communistic left, and in both India deserves the love and active help of all Christian people. The Church has an immense opportunity to present to India Christ as the way, the truth, and the life; she also has the power to implement all the great dreams and longings of its patriots and the heroic unselfish

workers for a new India. Even though our church needs to be strengthened ever so much more, we praise the Lord that in this time of the Ziegenbalg Jubilee we have a Church in India to love and serve India's millions with Christ's own love and point them to Him who is the key to real transformation and fulfilment of all longings.

The Jubilee Celebration at Tranquebar is symbolic of the new trust that our Lord places in the Indian Church when the leadership of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church, the oldest Protestant church in India and the East, is to be laid on a son of the soil. It is a call for very fervent prayer for Dr. R. B. Manikam, the first national Bishop of Tranquebar, and continued prayer for the whole Church in India and her leadership.

J. D. Asirvadam

## *South Africa*

### **South Africa's German Evangelical Lutheran Synod**

One of the associations that the numerous denominations in South Africa have formed is the "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Africa", established on July 2, 1895. Its member congregations are found in Cape Province and in the Orange Free State, by far the greater number in Cape Province. It is affiliated with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hannover which has also taken the responsibility to see that parishes are supplied with pastors wherever and whenever this becomes necessary.

The foundation of this synod must be credited primarily to Pastor G. W. Wagener of Capetown who may well be said to have been one of the synod's most eminent men. Pastor Wagener came to Capetown in 1884 as Assistant Pastor but soon took over the main pastorate. From the outset of his Capetown ministry he was concerned with the problem that never left him, how to strengthen and maintain the cause of the German Lutheran Church in South Africa. He

recognized that the most important means would be the federation of those German Evangelical Lutheran congregations in South Africa that maintained connections with the Lutheran Church of Hannover. The first draft of a synodal order was drawn up as early as 1889, but not until July 2, 1895 was it possible actually to call the Synod into existence. Its direction was in the hands of a synodal committee in South Africa, chaired for many years by Pastor Wagener of Cape-town. On October 4, 1895, the *Landeskirche* of Hannover declared that it was willing to accept responsibility for the synodal association. This tie has been preserved until the present day and has proved to be a great blessing.

Today this Synod has six member congregations in the west of Cape Province (Cape Town, including Bellville and Stellenbosch; Neu-Eisleben; Wynberg; Philippi, the former Wynberg-Vlakte; Paarl; Worcester) and nine congregations in the eastern part of Cape Province (Kingwilliamstown; Braunschweig; Frankfurt; Keiskamahoe; Emnquasha; East London, formerly Panmure; Kwelegha; Stutterheim; Port Elizabeth); in addition there are two congregations in the Orange Free State (Bloemfontein and Groenvlei).

In accordance with the geographical distribution of these congregations, the Synod is divided into two District Conferences, East and West. The Synod numbers approximately 6,000 congregational members. Currently there is a considerable influx from other areas of South Africa, from South West Africa, and from overseas.

In order to gain a better understanding of the nature and make-up of the Synod, we should briefly observe the development of the synodal congregations. Let us begin with the congregations in western Cape Province, as the oldest of all the synodal congregations, Cape Town, belongs here. Usually the year 1652 is mentioned as the beginning of Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, though shipwrecked Dutch seamen landed and settled there as early as 1648. This 1652 settlement was administered by the Dutch East India Company which employed many German soldiers and offi-

cials at the Cape of Good Hope. After their term of obligation was ended, many of them remained in the country as farmers or in other professions. This resulted in the formation towards the end of the 18th century of a Dutch Lutheran congregation, the so-called "Strandstraßengemeinde" in Cape Town. The very fact that this congregation was allowed to call itself "Lutheran" was a very special concession of the Dutch East India Company, for originally it had not tolerated either the use of any but the Dutch language or any denomination besides the Dutch Reformed Church.

The wars of the closing 18th century brought considerable changes to the Cape of Good Hope. The British, having temporarily occupied the Cape in 1796, took final possession in 1806. One consequence of this was that the British governor, Sir George Yong, requested a clergyman from His Majesty's German territories (Hannover) for the Strandstraßen congregation to which he personally belonged. Accordingly, the Hannover consistory sent a Pastor Hesse to Cape Town in 1801; he served the Strandstraßen congregation until 1815. Thus the Lutheran Church of Hannover became the first of Germany's Evangelical churches to support a congregation abroad.

We can give but a rough sketch of the further development of this overseas congregation. There was a split in the Strandstraßen parish in 1848 when a group, including Stegmann, the assistant pastor, seceded to establish their own church. The remaining congregation petitioned Hannover for another assistant pastor to replace Stegmann; this was granted in 1851 in the person of Pastor Parisius. A convinced Lutheran, he urged the introduction of Lutheran ways and forms in divine worship and was fully supported by that section of the congregation that still regarded itself as German and Lutheran. Eventually, in 1861, this part of the congregation together with Pastor Parisius left to establish the German Lutheran St. Martin's congregation. They first rented and later bought the church that had been built following the 1848 split. On January 16, 1862, the Hannover consistory accepted responsi-



lity for the supervision and care of the St. Martin's congregation, which soon grew vigorously. Among its pastors, the G. W. Wagener to whom we have already referred deserves special mention. The parishes at Bellville and Stellenbosch are affiliated daughter congregations of Cape Town.

Originally, the Wynberg and Paarl congregations also were affiliated with Capetown's St. Martin's parish. There had, indeed, been an earlier subsidiary parish of the Strandstraßen congregation of Cape Town in Wynberg, but its church, constructed in 1863, was in use for only 1½ years. After a branch of Capetown's St. Martin's congregation had been maintained in Wynberg for some time, it became an independent congregation in 1887. The Strandstraßen congregation's empty church was at first rented, then bought in 1896 and dedicated as St. John's church. Paarl had become an independent congregation earlier, in 1883, after the building of St. Peter's church.

Of great benefit to German Lutheran parish life in Wynberg and Paarl was the lively inflow of German emigrants in the 60's. Let us mention the 90 Württembergers who settled in the Cape Town area in 1859. In 1858/59, six ships carrying German emigrants were on their way to the eastern Cape territory (Kaffraria). A number of these, too, remained in the region of Cape Town, being taken on as laborers on Dutch farms. In a few years they became independent, swelling the number of German Evangelical families already settled in Wynberg, Paarl, and Worcester.

The Wynberg congregation originally had a branch at Wynberg-Vlakte, generally called Philippi today. In time, this separated from the parent congregation at Wynberg and, after a period of affiliation with St. Martin's parish in Cape Town, it became an autonomous congregation in 1900. In 1896, another group of the Vlakte settlers had formed the Neu-Eisleben congregation which to this day maintains close ties with the Wynberg parish by sharing the same pastor.

Worcester, the last of the six churches in the Synod's west, is located farther away from Cape Town. As early as 1852

it was the site of a small Lutheran congregation of Hollanders and Germans, a branch of the Strandstraßen congregation of Cape Town. During the late 50's and early 60's of the last century, new Evangelical German immigrants came to Worcester. Services in their mother tongue were at first held for them by the missionary Esselen in the mission church. From these beginnings developed a self-sufficient German Lutheran parish. It was duly set up in 1883 under the name of Holy Trinity congregation; its newly constructed church was consecrated the same year.

Turning now to the congregations in the Synod's east, we should note at the outset that their history can be sketched only in barest outline to avoid being swamped by details. For the history of these congregations is, in part, turbulently involved. Let us first consider the parishes located in the hinterland of the port of East London: Kingwilliamstown, Braunschweig, Frankfort, Keiskamahoe, Emnquessa, East London, Kwelegha, Stutterheim.

The overture to this development was the settling of the British-German Legion in eastern Cape Province (Kaffraria) during 1856/57. At the time, however, no real congregations materialized. The military settlers did indeed have their regular camp services, but adhered to their military formations for the purpose, up to the Legion's disbandment in 1860. Even before, most of the legion had been moved to India to be thrown into the colonial battles there.

Conditions were not suitable for the growth of real congregations until German emigrant families were settled in the hinterland of the port of East London, then called Panmure, in the year 1858/59. At first, however, spiritual provision for these emigrants was totally inadequate. The military settlers of the British-German legion at least had had the services of three chaplains, one of them a locally resident missionary substituting for an actual chaplain; the 1858/59 emigrants had come into the country without any pastoral care. Their home churches of Pomerania, Uckermark, Mecklenburg, and others, took no steps to provide their erstwhile members with

spiritual care. To be sure, occasional services were held by English clergymen in the area, but the settlers could not understand them. The few local German missionaries, mostly of the Berlin mission society, helped to the best of their ability. Yet this help was not nearly sufficient to supply regular pastoral care.

As a consequence, a large number of the Evangelical immigrants joined the Baptists who were provided with better spiritual care. It should, however, be noted that in many places the immigrants themselves held services, without a minister, with the help of Bible, hymnal, and sermon book. This lay activity was maintained for about fifty years in the congregations at Bell and Bodiam, since dissolved.

Not before 1864 was a regular congregation formed among the Evangelical German immigrants of 1858/59. At that time a Lutheran minister, Pastor Cluever (1864-93), came to the Germans living in and about Kingwilliamstown. He had formerly been active as teacher and organist at St. Martin's church in Cape Town, and his election proved to be of great importance for the future development of the German Lutheran parishes in the Synod's east.

First of all, when Pastor Cluever took up the ministry in Kingwilliamstown, it meant that a German Lutheran parish for Kingwilliamstown and the surrounding area was permanently established. German settlements right down to the Indian Ocean were provided with regular spiritual care, especially because these settlements soon affiliated with Kingwilliamstown as branches. But, in addition, Pastor Cluever's election brought the eastern parishes into relationship with the Lutheran Church of Hannover, for Pastor Cluever brought this arrangement with him from Cape Town.

As a consequence, Cape Town's church constitution was adopted in the east. It sets forth, among other things, that the administration of the Hannover church exercises supervisory powers over the congregation's Pastor. It further stipulates: "Henceforth and for ever the Consistory of the Lutheran Church of Hannover is to be asked to take its part in filling the pastorate. The aforementioned

Consistory is to ordain the candidate it has selected into the preaching ministry, asking a vow to adhere to the Lutheran confessional books."

The extraordinary significance that the adoption of the Cape Town church constitution necessarily had for the parishes in the east is readily apparent from this. They had thus won firm backing in their German homeland and, in addition, were cast into a clearly Lutheran mold.

Based upon Kingwilliamstown, Pastor Cluever fulfilled an exceedingly strenuous travel assignment. At regular intervals he visited the branches at Frankfort, Berlin, Potsdam, Bell, and Bodiam, as well as East London. In the long run, this schedule proved to be beyond the endurance of a single individual and therefore the development of more and more German settlements in Kaffraria from branches into independent congregations was welcomed.

Let it suffice merely to list the places concerned, with the date at which their independent congregations were established, adding the names of their first pastors:

- 1872 East London (Panmure); Pastor Mueller, a one-time Hermannsburg missionary.
- 1879 Frankfort; Pastor Boehmke, a former Hermannsburg missionary.
- 1880 Braunschweig; Pastor Anders, formerly a Berlin missionary. At the present, Braunschweig is tied to Frankfort by sharing a minister.
- 1883 Keiskamahoe; Pastor Fuchs. In 1950 the congregation decided to give up their own parish post and to merge with Kingswilliamstown.
- [1886 Berlin C. P.; Pastor Baumgarten, a one-time Hermannsburg missionary.
- 1886 Potsdam C. P.; the same pastor as Berlin C. P. — Berlin C. P. and Potsdam C. P. have left the Synod.
- 1892 Macleantown; Pastor Koenigk. The Macleantown congregation has left the Synod.]



1893 Stutterheim; Pastor Beste, formerly a Berlin missionary.

1906 Kwelegha; Pastor Bruenjes. In 1955 the congregation voted to give up their own parish post and to merge with East London.

The following parishes have remained branches or are no longer served:

Emnquesha; first church in 1884, second church in 1897. A branch of Kingwilliamstown, at times also of other congregations.

Bell and Bodiam; Pastor Cluever founded the Bodiam congregation in 1871. After 1873, the congregation at Bell becomes a branch of Bodiam. While there are varying ties with other congregations, the official pastoral care is supplemented for about 50 years by parish members who serve as lecturers. The pastorate is now no longer supplied, since members of the Bell and Bodiam congregations have moved away.

Queenstown; formerly a branch of Kingwilliamstown, it is no longer served at the moment.

Transkei; various preaching points in the Transkei, such as Butterworth, Um-tata, Idutywa are no longer served.

While the above-listed eastern congregations are nearly all closely tied to the settlement of Kaffraria by the 1858/59 immigration, the following three congregations do not fall into this category, though they are attached to the east of the Synod:

In Cape Province:

Port Elizabeth, founded 1901. Joining the Synod in 1902 under Pastor Grusendorf, it is today a branch of East London.

In Orange Free State:

Bloemfontein; A German Lutheran congregation in 1875, served part-time by missionaries of the Berlin mission

society. In 1907 it joins the Synod as an independent congregation; Pastor Schneider.

Groenvlei; in 1919, the German Lutheran Krause family of Potsdam, C. P. bought the large farm of Groenvlei, settling there with their 18 children. This is the origin of the Groenvlei congregation, affiliated with Bloemfontein.

This year, the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Africa celebrates its sixtieth anniversary. Such a jubilee gives occasion to much reflection. With a glad heart we may note that abundant growth was granted the Synod during these sixty years. But we must not overlook the various reverses which these sixty years have brought. This is therefore no time to fold one's hands, but a time to do all in our power to assist the German Lutheran congregations in South Africa in their struggle to maintain the "German" and the "Lutheran". Looking to the future we may join confidently in singing: "Continue on, Thou refuge strong; help, Lord, as Thou hast done!"

Georg Böker

## Japan

### The Problem of the Back Door

Here is a cordial invitation to anyone interested to climb aboard my bumpy little 'plane for a quick visit to Japan. Roughly speaking, our trip will be divided into three stages: First we shall want to circle the land of Fuji to get as good a bird's-eye view as possible of the general religious situation there below the clouds. Then we shall attempt to buzz the field of Christian battle from two different angles. And finally, as we turn back to where we came from, we shall try to gather our findings and to analyze some of the more important things we saw.

Politically there is no doubt that Japan has chosen to cast in her lot with

the western world. The battle noise from Korea as much as the smoke and dust from Bikini have squeezed this island empire firmly in among the democratic powers.

The religious situation in Japan may be expressed, in over-simplified terms, as one of confusion. This is our opportunity. A man in confusion and distress is willing to listen to anyone; here also is our limitation: the man who is willing to listen to you also lends his ear to others. And there always is some other prophet, preaching some other "gospel".

When in 1945 the emperor declared himself an ordinary human being without divine origin, he kicked from under the feet of the Japanese people the traditional basis for their way of life and thought: the belief in themselves as a master-race and a model nation. From 1945 until now Japan has had no criterion by which to judge and evaluate doctrines and ideas that have come to the islands. The latest arrival tends to claim the day.

Many wonderful reports have been written from Japan about the possibilities for Christian work there. Most of them have had something to do with the truth. However, we need to keep in mind that while such reports are usually written from the point of view of the church entrance, the problem of the Japanese church is that of the back door: new people are continually streaming into the church, but somehow the congregations remain numerically about the same. A few figures will bear out this contention.

According to reliable statistics there were 235,000 Protestant Christians in Japan immediately prior to World War II. Government figures listed 234,284 for January 1, 1954. In other words, *status quo*. No, not even *status quo*, for during the same period there has been a population increase of some 15 million people.

Among the several factors that determine the over-all picture are the many powerful non-Christian sects. Many death-warrants have been issued, all apparently premature. Although State Shinto was deprived of official support, the equivalent to US\$ 3,000,000 has been contributed by voluntary gifts for the rebuilding of the

Grand National Shrine at Ise. Then, since the war some 200 new Buddhist sects have been registered with the authorities, and 134 Shinto sects as well. Interestingly enough, another 31 sects were refused registration, as they represented such a conglomeration of ideas and organizations that they defied all attempts at clear definition.

Different as these sects are, they all seem to capitalize on the credulity of people in general, and they also make a point of healing.

In short, the religious situation is most confused, and the trend is toward more confusion, not less.

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Now a quick look at the Christian Church in Japan and the missionary work going on there. We cannot here discuss in any detail methods or results, but we shall concern ourselves with three great waves of Christian influence that have swept the islands of Japan during the past two years or so.

First, there was the World Congress on Evangelism, Tokyo, August 1953. I had the privilege of attending the meetings for three days. One of the impressions that I took away from the congress was this: Entirely too American. In a well-prepared and sudden attack the congress personnel swarmed into Tokyo as something very strange and very alien. Disturbing questionmarks rose from the conference site. The time must come when we realize that theology, no matter how sound and evangelical, is not enough. It must be combined with an equally sound knowledge of anthropology. We cannot, to speak figuratively, take the Christian message from an American deep-freezer and carry it in the course of hours to a far-away foreign country, and there parachute it down to unprepared people. Even in the Old Testament we read that Job's friends sat with him for seven days and seven nights without talking before attempting to discuss matters with him. When immigrants from Europe landed on the shores of America they were, in earlier days, processed at Ellis Island. Though the picture should not be stressed,



there is need of some sort of an "Ellis Island" here in the Far East for many of these "sound-breaking" visitors, who often have extremely vague ideas about the very real problem of communication in the preaching of the Gospel.

I took a Japanese friend of mine, a man whose Christian zeal and integrity are beyond doubt, to see one of Dr. Billy Graham's films. Without appearing to ask leading questions, I asked him what his impressions were. I should say that I personally have great respect for Dr. Graham's work. Not so my friend, who like all Japanese expects dignified bearing the pulpit, and only said. "He is a madman".

Returning to the World Congress on Evangelism, its greatest contributions were in my opinion, first that for once the Christian Church captured the headlines of Japan's secular press which represents a powerful force with its millions of readers. Both the Mainichi and the Asahi newspapers have a daily circulation of 7 million copies. Secondly, the congress spread its Christian influence through teams that were sent out into the country, teams which in co-operation with Japanese church workers and missionaries proclaimed the Good News in many unheard-of places.

The second great wave that has recently rolled over the islands is that of the radioministry. Riding the crest far ahead of other programs was the Lutheran Hour, with its well-known and well-planned program now bringing Christ to an estimated 60 out of Japan's 88 millions every week. To many people "Ruteru Aua" has come to mean the same as "Christianity".

Three factors make the radio ministry fruitful in this country, as far as I can see: 1) There is hardly a home without a radio. 2) There is something in the psychological make-up of the people that makes them resent being pushed around, which indeed they are prone to be if presented with the Christian message aggressively. If pushed into a corner, a Japanese may indeed "decide" for Christ. Only his decision may be the first of a series of decisions. It seems to me that a Japanese wants to think matters over, and then gradually come to his own con-

clusion. The radio ministry gives him just this freedom. It gives a man the freedom to think unhurriedly through the problems, the freedom to make up his own mind and, in fact, take all the time his own conscience will allow him.

3) The follow-up work has been exceptionally good, at least as far as it applies to the Lutheran Hour, which has to a large degree become the advance movement of the Lutheran work in Japan, and all Lutheran groups are mobilizing their forces behind its popular vanguard. The advertisement "The Church of the Lutheran Hour" is found on bulletin boards other than those of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

The third, by far the least spectacular, event—yet one that will prove a blessing to Japan for generations to come, is the new translation of the Bible, into colloquial Japanese. The old translation dates back to 1888 and was slightly modified in 1916 when a careful revision was undertaken. A beautiful translation though it is, the old version is difficult to read, not only for ordinary people but even for university students.

The new translation will, of course, be a great help to the missionaries. More important is the fact that it will be a blessing to the people who will now be able to understand what is being read from the pulpit, a new experience in Japan. The New Testament appeared in March 1954 and was quite recently followed by the whole Bible.

\* \* \*

What is the greatest need of the Christian Church in Japan today? I would like to present my own thinking in this matter, based on the premise that in the Kingdom of God nothing, absolutely nothing ever undertaken in the name of Jesus and for His sake, is useless or worthless.

The greatest need is for a courageous preaching of the Gospel in its biblical simplicity, in the power of the Holy Spirit.

This has reference to the fact that the Japanese have been regarded as an intellectual nation. They regard themselves that way, too. Dr. Brunner, who

(with Dr. Stanley Jones) has made a great impact on Japan as a missionary, not primarily as a theologian, is reported to have made this public observation before a group of Japanese students: "You certainly are a group of interesting people. You seem to love to listen to things which you do not understand." There is much preaching that might be filed under Dr. Brunner's label. Whoever is to blame, the results are disastrous.

That sincere attempts to rectify deplorable conditions often land reformers and followers in another ditch is a well-known trick of history. Thus, shallow emotionalism is no cure for sterile intellectualism. Nor are big drums and much noise necessarily signs of spiritual sensitivity and spiritual power. In our mechanical-minded and gadget-conscious age we must constantly be on guard against a confusion of "speed" with "power". It seems to require more faith in God to retire early one evening than to race through a village or two with a mobile cinema. Too often in Japan the Gospel has wrongly been identified with superficial Christian optimism and western know-how. Much "preaching" is a poor imitation of a Hollywood "happy-end scene" with the audience joining the main characters walking joyfully into a glowing sunset.

The late Dr. John R. Mott made at least three world tours during his long and busy life. After the first circling of the globe he said: "Our greatest need is more missionaries."

The next time he returned to his office in New York, he said: "We need more national workers." The third time he is reported to have stated: "We need more of the Holy Spirit." If his diagnosis fits the world in general, I believe it fits the Japanese scene in particular.

Sigurd Aske

of Jubilee for the city of Augsburg. In addition to lesser anniversaries of primarily local interest, the Catholic Church at Whitsuntide remembered Ulrich, the sainted Bishop of Augsburg who played such a major role in the battle on the Lechfeld in 955. This victory itself, putting an end to the Magyar invasions which had scourged Germany for over half a century and helping the Hungarians themselves to settle and in turn become a bulwark against the Nomad onsets from the East, this victory was remembered on a grand scale in August.

And now followed the festivities of the Evangelical churches. The exceedingly gratifying participation of congregations, from Bavaria and Wurtemberg especially, as well as of city, state, and the Federal government, helped make an impressive celebration. Its theme was: *Freiheit für Gottes Wort* — "Liberty for the Word of God". In line with it, all the churches of Augsburg and the surrounding area had their sermons on the text of the Apostle Paul which is centred on the words: "... But the Word of God is not fettered!" Notably the representatives of the churches in the German Democratic Republic vigorously emphasized that the Word of God as a power in its own right is active at all times and in all places and simply will not be bound by external force. On the other hand, gratitude was alive for the fact that God checks the obstructions that people seek to erect in the path of His Word. That He did so in 1555 is, of course, the proper meaning the Religious Peace of Augsburg, the occasion for these solemnities.

The event had its primary significance for German Protestantism. But Augsburg is, beyond that, a memorable city even for world Protestantism. It was here that in October 1518 Martin Luther resisted Cardinal Cajetan's pressure, did not recant his preaching and chose rather to rest "under the open sky" than forsake the truth he had perceived: one of the landmarks for the beginning of the Reformation to which world Protestantism owes its existence. When later, in 1530, the Evangelical estates presented their doctrine to the emperor, there

## Germany

### The Religious Peace of Augsburg

The commemoration of the 1555 Religious Peace of Augsburg on September 25 brought to a close an important year



was created the "Augsburg Confession" which represents the foundation of all World Lutheranism. What happened in 1555 affected only Germany, but there it proved to be of crucial importance. By the Religious Peace of Augsburg, the Evangelical creed was recognized as having equal rights with the Roman Catholic in the Empire. A brief glance at the history that led to the treaty will illuminate its significance.

When Martin Luther was excommunicated by the Pope in 1521, it was a matter of course according to Imperial Law and the Empire's practice that he would be placed under a writ of outlawry and proscription. For it was up to the Emperor and the Realm to maintain the Catholic faith after the Pope had made his decision. Thus Luther was cast out from law and peace, and all who offended against this proscription and read Luther's writings were to share this fate. However, Evangelical authorities refused to obey this injunction. In 1526 the individual sovereigns were granted the freedom to apply the Edict of Worms as they wished, but this permission was withdrawn again in 1529. The Evangelical estates protested against this but to no purpose except that henceforth they were labelled "Protestants".

After the Augsburg Confession had been presented in 1530, Emperor and Realm decreed that everyone had to return to Catholicism within one year. But the foreign political situation prevented the Emperor from imposing his will by force of arms. Thus the Gospel grew, and new Evangelical church districts constantly appeared in Germany.

Finally, in 1546, after a munificent contribution from the Pope, the Emperor was able to use force. He won a brilliant victory over the Evangelical estates. But the Diet of 1548 did not quite want to compel them to become completely Catholic. It merely demanded the adoption of an Imperial Interim—a sort of compromise religion that allowed a married clergy and the lay chalice. Even though Imperial troops effected their sovereign's will wherever they were stationed, Evangelical Germany otherwise withstood all oppression. In 1552 there

was an armed revolt against the Emperor who was now, in turn, no less completely defeated. An armistice was concluded at Passau, followed by the Peace in 1555. The part of its contents that was the actual occasion for the recent festivities, as well as for similar grateful remembrances in centuries past, stipulated that henceforth the Evangelical estates were not to wage war against the Catholic nor the Catholic estates against the Evangelical, and neither was to oppress the other in any way for the sake of faith or the exercise of religion. This expressly included the Emperor himself. Each sovereign was thus granted power freely to determine whether the Word of God in the Evangelical understanding should have freedom of expression or not in his territory. This was the weight of the formula to which the main substance of the religious peace was later reduced: *cuius regio, eius religio* — "let the religion follow the ruler". This certainly did not achieve anything like the religious freedom we on the Evangelical side nowadays regard as indispensable. But it was not a backward step, for hitherto the Emperor had enforced obedience to the Pope throughout the entire Empire. All church property in the now Evangelical territories was to be used by the Evangelical churches. The bishops' diocesan authority was excluded from Evangelical districts. This the bishops themselves had helped determine and had signed. If you compare this to the situation of 1521 it is more than understandable that any remembrance of this peace could not but be pervaded by grateful joy.

But it was a sober joy. This was a note struck repeatedly and emphatically at Augsburg. Liberty for the Word of God was attained only at the price of its denial to certain areas of Germany for the entire duration of the peace. Wherever Catholic bishops held temporal sway, a Catholic successor was to be elected if such a bishop should adhere to the Evangelical confession. Thus such a territory could never become Evangelical. The Evangelical estates approved this article's inclusion in the peace treaty only after registering their emphatic

protest. Moreover, they insisted on the assurance, under hand and seal, that such parishes in these territories as were already Evangelical would have their Evangelical religious practice guaranteed. This, however, could not be maintained in the future course of events. For their brethren-in-the-faith under Catholic sovereignty they obtained at least the right to emigrate for the sake of their faith—a right which was claimed by many hundreds of thousand up to 1836. The same right, of course, appertained to Catholic subjects in Evangelical territories, but no case has come to light where it was claimed to an extent worth mentioning. Not even this sorry vestige of religious freedom could be obtained for the Imperial lands. In the Netherlands, for instance, the medieval laws about heresy continued to apply. This inflexibility brought about the Netherlands' struggle for liberty which finally ended with their separation from the German Empire after eighty years of gruesome war.

Thus liberty for the Word of God in a very extensive part of Germany was bought by having it thoroughly denied in another part, indeed by Protestantism giving up its missionary obligation. That was and remains deeply regrettable. That is why joy over the Religious Peace of Augsburg could not be unclouded. As it was, it was a compromise, achieved after an extraordinarily tenacious, struggle between the opposing factions. If you know the history of the succeeding decades, you will have to admit that it was literally the very last moment in which even that much could be accomplished.

The Religious Peace of Augsburg did not inaugurate what we mean by religious freedom or tolerance. Yet it did establish equality for the two confessions within the Diet and within the estate. It established this privilege also in the Free Cities of the realm where both confessions happened to exist side by side at the time, for instance in Augsburg. That even this did not yet contain the seeds of our present-day tolerance is shown clearly enough by the succeeding centuries in Augsburg. Our tol-

erance had its roots not so much in the Reformation as such, as in the various denominations which evolved from it in North America, in men who sought there a new home in order to escape from religious compulsion in their homelands, in pietist movements which emphasized "the faith by which you believe" above "the faith which you believe", and in the Enlightenment for which the revealed Gospel finally ceased to be any sort of binding truth.

The Reformation did not cause the first permanent schism in Christendom. This had been brought about by the anathemas of 1054. But the two churches then created, the Greek Catholic and the Roman Catholic, were in direct contact at only one frontier which also happened to be a distinct linguistic and cultural boundary line. The Religious Peace in Germany, by contrast, created such a mixture of, frequently tiny, church units—some of them comprising just a solitary village—that in wide-spread areas Evangelical and Catholic Christians live in daily contact. It was this that was radically new in the division, and it resulted in endless quarrel, strife, hatred, and bitterness. But then, it also provided rather frequent occasion inwardly to recognize the others as truly Christian. To cite just a few examples from the recent past when the Augsburg Religious Peace had long been superseded by other laws that established complete religious liberty: During the period of National Socialism, the latter's anti-religious measures were countered largely by common defense, and, after the frightful defeat when the expulsion of the Germans from eastern central Europe had thoroughly shaken up and mixed the whole population and the confessions, there was a friendly readiness on the part of both faiths to put their churches at each other's disposal for worship services—still a widespread practice today.

In view of the general public attitude of the Evangelical, especially the Lutheran, churches in inter-confessional relationships, it was therefore presumed that a friendly message of sympathy would come from Catholics on the occa-



sion of this commemoration. This did not materialize, apparently because the Pope had already in anticipation made a pronouncement that was hard to comprehend. A message from the Pope had been read by the bishop of Augsburg during the final public rally of the Roman Catholic Ulrich celebrations when representatives—that is, Evangelical representatives—of the German Federal government were officially present. In this message, the Pope referred to the rupture of religious unity that resulted from the Peace as “the gravest calamity that could befall the Christian West.” This, of course, expresses one aspect of what we Lutheran Christians also feel. Only we see the cause of the rupture not so much in the religious Peace as in Rome’s repudiation in principle of Luther’s passionate call for a return to the original substance of the biblical message. What was more distressing was the ensuing assertion that the world would either “have to become genuinely Christian and Catholic, or be consumed by the prairie fire of materialistic godlessness.” This was a clear announcement that Rome would not concede to Evangelically moulded Christendom any power of resistance to this danger, that, indeed, it regards such an hour and such a place as suited to the reiteration that Rome is not prepared to regard as Christian anything that is not genuinely Catholic.

At the time, an immediate protest—as dignified as it was emphatic—was registered by the Evangelical Lutheran Regional Church Council in Munich. The same was sparkingly done by the Presiding Bishop of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany, Bishop Hanns Lilje, president of the Lutheran World Federation. Behind the Papal message he rightly discerned the opinion, widely held in Catholic circles and rather frequently and wilfully repeated, that all the disintegration and utter secularization of current attitudes to life and ideologies is exclusively the result of the Reformation. He therefore not only mentioned that spiritual conditions of the present era did not really permit the various Christian churches to feud

among themselves and to continue to pass the blame for immediate conditions to other churches, he pointed out emphatically that it was precisely the lands and nations who had not been reached by the Reformation or where it had been rooted out by the most ruthless means who were the most susceptible to the beliefs which the Pope regarded as a mortal menace. At the same time he expressly underlined the high esteem in which the Evangelical world holds the human personality of the present Pope and merely spoke of the fact that he had been poorly advised in this instance. But just this last apparently was regarded as a personal insult to the Pope by Catholics and provoked irritated reactions.

No direct reference to this feud was made at Augsburg itself. The things that Bishop Dietzfelbinger of Bavaria said at the opening of the large closing rally would presumably have been said in any case. He expressed the Evangelical Church’s sorrow over the confessional schism and asserted that this division simply confronted the living generation with the obligation of emulating one another in true faith, in active obedience, and in genuine love of Christ. But in Lilje’s impressive closing remarks the allusion was unmistakable. With complete lucidity and authority, but also with a dignity that rose superior to all the attacks made upon him, he responded: “Surely the Christian churches ought to be able to develop Christian methods even for their mutual intercourse and to present a living example of the spirit of Christianity in their relationships... If the two great confessions exist side by side in Germany, then God desires that they manage to get along, that they be Christian in their reciprocal dealings, that they not fear but respect each other.” On this occasion he again pointed out that the road to present-day liberalism, secularism, and totalitarianism originated not in Luther’s call, but in the Renaissance whose style of life had been adopted by the papacy in the period of the Reformation, and in the Enlightenment of the very France that cruelly suppressed every Evangelical impulse.

During the session of the Bishops' Conference of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany that took place the next day, the fact that theological discussions with the Catholic Church on the highest level had been neglected for a considerable time was admitted as a sin of omission. This took up a remark by *Osservatore Romano*, the Papal organ, printed in the paper's edition for September 25, 1955 but which had not transpired until the day after. Here there was first another expression of amazement at the inexplicable reaction of Evangelicals to the Papal declaration. But then the paper stressed that the present-day, new situation demanded mutual respect of the adherents of both sides. The religious issues which divided the two confessions should be openly and dispassionately discussed. It is true that the text of the declaration betrayed all too clearly that it had been made with an eye on the collaboration of Catholics and Evangelicals in one of Germany's political parties, a collaboration already repeatedly jeopardized by the Catholic group. At any rate, the Pope's pronouncement thus lost some of its edge, and it was again demonstrated how poorly advised he had been, after all.

In view of the thus somewhat tense situation, it was natural that another point should be made that might otherwise perhaps not have been mentioned for the sake of peace: namely that in a considerable number of Catholic countries outside Germany the Evangelicals enjoy not nearly even as much freedom of faith as the Religious Peace provided in Germany four hundred years ago. This was said in his words of greeting by the representative of the Lutheran World Federation at the reception by the *Landeskirchenamt*.

But the discordant note that had been injected into the celebrations made it all the clearer how great a task had been set by the situation first created by the Religious Peace, the immediate geographical contact of different churches. It is not a matter of a tolerance which is not disturbed because someone holds a differing opinion, but of a task which is simply insoluble by human thought:

namely the obligation to be profoundly convinced of the truth of one's own confession and yet simultaneously grant to another confession a God-given purpose. Such an attitude has for some time been put into practice in the ecumenical movements, and it has led to the World Council of Churches to which the great majority of Lutheran churches belong in addition to their own alliance in the Lutheran World Federation.

In all this we are aware that the ecumenical problem is different today from what it was in the movement to unity at the beginning of the century, even as regards the Roman Church. We know that the controversy with today's secular forces in all countries makes it essential that Christians learn to stand up for each other more than hitherto. But we also know that this can only take the form of standing up for the Christian truth. We suffer, because the demands of truth and of love so often seem to point in different directions. But perhaps we suffer even more because in our partner we so frequently can discern neither of the two, but only church politics that, however adroit, is often not very spiritual. We say this in sincere sorrow, but also in genuine longing for the one Church of Christ. The days in which we might have celebrated the political events of 1555 in Augsburg as the dawn of humanistic liberty are gone for ever, for us. We are grateful that at that time the political realm granted freedom to the Gospel, but at the same time we ask, as Jesus Christ has taught us to ask, that all may be one, as He and the Father are one.

Matthias Simon

## Poland

### Post-War Development of Theological Conferences

For Poland's Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, the annual theological summer conferences held since the last war have grown into an institution of major importance.



In principle, all who serve in the church's teaching and preaching ministry are obliged to participate in these conferences. But lack of personnel allows only about half the persons involved to leave their congregation and their ministry for the several days' duration of each such meeting. All the same, these conferences provide an essential prerequisite for service in the ministry and to the congregation. They aim at advancing the theological training of, especially, the younger generation of ministers, as well as at giving new spark and depth to the life of faith of frequently overworked pastors. The daily schedule has a firm liturgical structure in which regular morning and evening devotions as well as the celebration of the Lord's Supper at the end of the conference have a part.

Of all the post-war conferences it was those of the last two years that proved to be a special blessing for our whole church. Last year's conference had the theme "The Evangelical Lutheran Church's Confessional Character" and strove to provide a real encounter with the symbolic books for the participants and an occasion for rethinking their content. This year the conference took place

during the last days of August and the first days of September, with an attendance of about 60. Its theme was „Eschatology and its Bearing on Present-day Christian Life and Work“.

Thus this conference took up the debate initiated by the ecumenical assembly at Evanston. The topics of individual addresses on the subject of eschatology were as follows: "Prolegomena to the Revelation of St. John", "Biblical Eschatology", "The Eschatology of the Church's Dogmatic Tradition" and, finally, "Eschatological Marks of Contemporary Christian Piety in the Light of Evanston". All these subjects provoked lively discussion. These discussions repeatedly featured critical comment on Bultmann's demythologizing theology and the existentialism it involves.

A lecture by Dr. Szerudas dealt with the "Indispensable Elements of Christian Piety in the Present Era". We all recall with special gratitude the address in which Bishop Jan Kotula called for a living and forceful ministry to our scattered congregations and for battle against ungodly forces.

The pastors of our Reformed sister church in Poland participated in the conference.

O. Krenz

## BOOK REVIEWS

### *Biblical Authority*

ALAN RICHARDSON and WOLFGANG SCHWEITZER, eds., *Biblical Authority for Today*, SCM Press Ltd.: London, 1951.

Wolfgang Schweitzer, *Schrift und Dogma in der Oekumene* (Scripture and Dogma in the Ecumenical World), C. Bertelsmann Verlag: Gütersloh, 1953.

ARCHIBALD M. HUNTER, *The Unity of the New Testament*, SCM Press Ltd.: London, 1943.

ERNEST LERLE, *Voraussetzungen der neutestamentlichen Exegese* (Assumptions of New Testament Exegesis), Lutheraner Verlag: Frankfurt, 1951.

JOSEPH CHAMBON, *Die Bibel Gottes Wort* (The Bible the Word of God), Gotthelf Verlag: Zürich, 1951.

GOTTLOB SCHRENCK, *Der heutige Geisteskampf in der Frage um die Heilige Schrift* (Today's Intellectual Battle over Holy Scripture), Gotthelf Verlag: Zürich, 1952.

HELMUTH SCHREINER, *Ist die Bibel Gottes Wort?* (Is the Bible the Word of God?), Luther Verlag: Witten-Ruhr, 1953.

AUGUST KIMME, *Wie erweist sich die Heilige Schrift als Gottes Wort?* (How does Holy Scripture Prove Itself the Word of God?), Vol. 10 of *Luthertum*, Lutherisches Verlagshaus: Berlin, 1953.

RAGNAR BRING, *Luthers Anschauung von der Bibel* (Luther's Approach to the Bible), Vol. 3 of *Luthertum*, Lutherisches Verlagshaus: Berlin, 1951.

CURT KUHL, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments* (The Origin of the Old Testament), Dalp Collection, Franke Verlag: Bern, 1953.

GERHART SCHMIDT, *Das Alte Testament im kirchlichen Unterricht* (the Old Testament in Christian Education), 2nd completely revised edition, Christian Kaiser Verlag: München, 1953.

The Bible is the book of the Church. This statement sounds like an obvious matter of fact; nevertheless, its interpretation, especially determining the right relationship between the two entities "Bible" and "Church", seems to have become the main problem of theological thought in our century. All the books listed (excepting the last two which are included for different reasons) are devoted to this question, and they represent but a small section of all that has been written on this topic in recent years. They all more or less agree also that one can properly speak of the Bible's authority only if this authority exists with necessary perspicuity in all important issues, that is when, as in Old Protestant dogmatics, *sufficientia* and *perspicuitas* are added to *auctoritas*.

The World Council of Churches symposium *Biblical Authority for Today* is an unusually interesting example of an ecumenical study project, inasmuch as it first presents the attitudes of various confessions and churches on the question of the Bible's authority, followed by five contributions on the principles of modern hermeneutics, as well as by guiding principles that where the product of common study. Finally, their practical applicability in the biblical appraisal of certain present-day ethical, political, and social problems is tested. Already the various "confessional" contributions of the first section were to have considered these problems; this, however, was accomplished in varying degrees by the different authors.

Thus the authority that is here discussed is authority in an absolute sense, not merely in church affairs, but also and particularly in secular matters. No one should deny the right, indeed the duty, to apply biblical authority in this realm also, even though all such attempts involve the danger that "biblical opinion" on certain questions may take the place of proclaiming judgment and grace.

How easily the Word of God is displaced at this point by the personal views of a school or church group is shown by Wolfgang Schweitzer's analy-



sis of the relation of Scripture and dogma in the ecumenical world. Dogma here comprises a considerable range of meanings, from the dogma of verbal inspiration, to the understanding of tradition, right up to the understanding of Jesus which determines our assumptions in reading the Scriptures and, therefore, also our further understanding of Scripture (p. 21). The three sections of the book deal 1) with the subject of tradition-bound and liberal interpretation of Scripture, the liberal actually serving merely as a foil; 2) with the beginnings of a new theology of revelation, overcoming the differences between "liberal" and "orthodox" (treated here are especially C. H. Dodd, R. Niebuhr, K. Barth, G. Aulén, and A. Nygren, as well as E. Brunner); and 3) with the unity and diversity of Scripture and dogmatics. This last section is "restricted to just a few considerations which seem to have a bearing on the interpretation of Scripture in dogmatics" (p. 238).

Indeed, the words "unity" and "diversity" characterize the present trend in biblical exegesis extremely well. Diversity is the demand of the hermeneutics which, in Schleiermacher's train, made the "comprehension" of the various parts of Scripture its final end; unity seeks the "center" of Scripture, the *kerygma*, the living Word. "The older approach was analytical; the newer approach will be synthetic. The older approach revealed variety; the newer approach will disclose unity amid that variety." Thus A. M. Hunter characterizes the new situation (p. 14). To be sure, even the previous generation inquired after the "catechism" of primitive Christianity, but this inquiry has taken on incomparably greater weight since the discovery of the eschatological character of the New Testament message. Hunter establishes the *kerygma* that is unified in all the writings of the New Testament despite differences of person and terminology along three lines: the christological (we preach Christ), the ecclesiological (the church is the people of God), and the soteriological (there is but one salvation). The non-English reader will be grateful for the many references to English writings on the questions in-

volved. The German translation of the book (*Die Einheit des Neuen Testaments*, Christian Kaiser Verlag: München, 1953) by Kurt Emmerich is excellent.

Ernst Lerle's work provides a brief survey of the indicated change in modern hermeneutic trends. The bad marks which the author passes out, especially to certain champions of contemporary church history, somewhat detract, however, from the joy of reading. Nothing really is gained for the modern difficulty in dealing with the Bible when in the last section, with reference to II Cor. 4:4, it is said "if one does not accept the Gospel, his *nus* is corrupt and his *noēmata* deluded" (p. 85). True, the Gospel calls for a turning back and for obedience, but as soon as you turn this into noëtica categories you have actually drifted once more to the horizon of comprehending hermeneutics, to the thesis that like can only be recognized by like which represents a formal parallel to the doctrine of verbal inspiration and the *testimonium spiritus sancti internum*.

It is strange how frequently this thesis with its iridescent ambiguity recurs in modern biblicism. Even Chambon's wise work contains such phrases as the quotation from Hamlet (III, 4): "Do you see nothing there? — Nothing at all; yet all that is I see." For to what extent is such an attitude still justified if at the same time you have the confidence by means of scientific biblical exegesis to seek that center of Scripture from which it itself wants to be approached. Today's theologians have regained this confidence. Thus Chambon himself speaks of areas of revelation's "intensification" in Holy Scripture (p. 14). Thus Gottlob Schrenk opposes any curtailment of the *kerygma* by Bultmann's cancellation of supposedly mythological declarations, but also any false levelling of Scripture by verbal inspiration; in the face of both he champions Martin Kähler's dictum that Scripture is the permanently effective documentation of the preaching that founds the Church. It is in the proclamation of the Word that all hermeneutics finally has to prove itself.

H. Schreiner therefore had good reason for sub-titling his book "a contribution to the contemporary conversation

between theology and the congregation". If preaching is moved to the center, a new scale of values is established unawares. The fundamentalism of certain sects and free churches and the science of history and philology are no longer separated by enormous differences of level; they exist on the same plane as possibilities or as temptations for whoever has to interpret the text to his congregation. This is a point of contact for the doctrine of the Word and the doctrine of preaching (Gustav Wingren's book on preaching is a reconsideration of that subject along these lines; we shall shortly discuss it in greater detail). The help that Lutheran theology in particular offers here will be apparent to anyone who reads, say Schreiner, or the cited books by Ragnar Bring or August Kimme on this topic.

In H. Schreiner this becomes clearest in the distinction he makes between *efficatio* and *efficientia* in a chapter on "the doctrine of Holy Scripture". This anyone ought to read who is concerned about a neat and obedient decision of the issue of how to deal with Scripture. A. Kimme points out "that the two basic pillars of orthodox doctrine on Scripture, verbal inspiration and *testimonium internum*, appear more questionable to us today than to the confessional theology of even the 19th century" (p. 9), and this because of renewed encounter with Luther the exegete, for they fall apart when *Christus praesens* himself interprets Scripture to the justified sinner. Kimme makes Bucer and Calvin primarily responsible for the changes introduced in orthodoxy after Luther. It would not only be an interesting question of theological history to find out to what extent this is true, it would also have considerable bearing on the present ecumenical discussion on Scripture. How Luther himself lived, thought, and fought with the Bible is beautifully described in Ragnar Bring's little monograph, making use of modern literature on Luther's hermeneutics. There is much more in this booklet than would appear from the somewhat pale title, "Luther's approach to the Bible".—

"See, my dear confirmands, this wonderful chapter (Is. 53) was not written by

the second Isaiah, but Trito-Isaiah put it into the mouth of Deutero-Isaiah" (quoted by Schreiner, p. 65, note 1)—the poor confirmands who are exposed to this young seminary intern, will be everyone's reaction. But why do we not say, with as much justification: the poor seminary graduate who enters his ministry with this profound insight and who is left to accomplish alone the most difficult step known to modern theology, that from scientific perspective to personal encounter with the Word of God. And the young pastor of whom we speak must not, after all, only preach; he is called to do something at this point which is apparently even more difficult today: he is to teach, to inform. In other words, he must say something about history and about literature. There is no doubt that he uses a wrong approach—but what is the right approach?

Surely not turning the *kerygma* into a universal truth without history. Perhaps here lies the cause for the increasingly voiced complaint that it is our preaching that brings up biblical illiterates. Ask pastors and lay people for the main dates of the Old Testament, for instance, when did David live, when was the first Temple built, or when was Jerusalem destroyed by the Babylonians? The result in most cases is likely to be devastating. But here, too, perhaps, we face a promising change. The history, including the literary history, of the Bible which science has penetrated in many decades of research motivated not exclusively, as some polemics would have it, by *hybris* and rationalism, but rather by loyalty and assiduity and certainly also respect for the subject's greatness—this science of history has today passed beyond the stage of mere hypothesis or of excited controversy with a tradition whose bounds it sought to escape. On the contrary, one might have to say today that love of the Bible involves dealing with the research and methods of modern biblical science. That is why we have chosen this place to refer the reader to the literary history of the Old Testament by Curt Kuhl which sets forth the "origin of the Old Testament" very circumspcctly and very lucidly in 340 pages. Modern research, espe-



cially the all-important magazine articles, receive their full due in the footnotes so that anyone who wants to pursue some question further is provided with the necessary references. Those with no such desires have a fine, readable text that sets before them a clear survey of the literary development of the Old Testament, that is, a history of more than 1000 years. It is superfluous to state that such reading material requires some effort, but whoever makes the attempt will surely find himself rewarded in such application.

How essential a real confrontation with the history of the Old Testament is to its treatment in school is shown by Gerhard Schmidt's practical aid to church instruction on the Old Testament. The book, first printed in 1937, is by now one of the standard texts for scriptural instruction. Death prevented the author from completing the revision for the new edition. The present edition is therefore made up of sections which he had revised and others which were taken over essentially as they appeared in the first edition. The assembly of these parts was happily accomplished by Günter Schlichting. Even though the book naturally presupposes the catechetical literature that is used in German schools, its great practical worth would make a translation into other tongues based on the appropriate books of religious instruction well worth considering.

Hans Bolewski

## Confession, Church and Ministry

WILHELM O. MÜNTER, *Begriff und Wirklichkeit des geistlichen Amtes* (Concept and Reality of the Ministry), Christian Kaiser Verlag: München, 1955.

HANS WERNER GENSICHEN, *Damnamus: Die Verwerfung von Irrlehre bei Luther und im Luthertum des 16. Jahrhunderts* (:Condemnation of False Doctrine by Luther and 16th Century Lutheranism), Lutherisches Verlagshaus: Berlin, 1955.

WILHELM MAURER, *Das synodal evangelische Bischofsamt seit 1918* (Post-1918 Synodal Evangelical Episcopacy), Vol. 10 of *Fuldaer Hefte*, Lutherisches Verlagshaus: Berlin, February 1955.

ERNST SOMMERLATH, *Amt und allgemeines Priestertum* (Ministry and Universal Priesthood), Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, GmbH: Berlin, 1954.

The above title headed a review of several books in the previous number; the works which will now be discussed, though less extensive, are by no means less weighty in substance. Research into the period of the Reformation continues to take up much bibliographical space, as we have already seen in Maurer's work on the "status and development of confessionalism". The first-named studies fall into the same context of historical research on the 16th century.

Münter's study is devoted to the Reformation's ideas on the ministry and the Church, especially in the Lutheran confessional writings and in Calvin's work. The author divided his study into four sections. The first of these is concerned with "the unity of the ministry and the equality of offices." Agreement and disagreement of the Lutheran and the Reformed doctrines of the ministry are given considerable emphasis on the basis of thoroughgoing study of the sources. It is surprising to see how extensive the agreement between the confessions is, even though Münter's research by no means fosters the widespread false idea that Calvin was the only one who really understood Luther. Nor does the observation indicate that the difference in *fundamentalibus* against which the Lutheran confessional writings pronounced their *damnamus* has been erased.

In the second section, the author develops the functions and authority of the ministry, once again according to both the Lutheran and the Reformed understanding. The function of the minister is *jure divino*, a development of the *potestas ecclesiae*. It consists primarily in the administration of Word and Sacrament and in holding the *potestas clavium*. By this Calvin emphatically understands doctrinal and moral disci-

pline under a clerical enforcing authority *sui generis* (p. 27). Church law in the Lutheran confessions involves primarily the right to call the minister without any claim to temporal government—it is by nature identical with the office of the preacher. The divergence from the Calvinist view is, in the last analysis, based on a different interpretation of the *verbum efficax* (p. 36). Out of his approach, Calvin develops a special office for the power of the keys (teachers) and for the care of the poor (deacons). Church administration itself rests with the presbytery, according to Reformed doctrine. The two confessions are at one in regarding church administration as a purely internal matter for the church, competence resting within the parish. The higher levels of church administration of which the Lutheran confessions take cognizance are absent in Reformed theology.

In the third section, the author deals with the calling of ministers, that is with the original function of church administration. The ministry exists objectively, it is realized through commissioning by the Church. This turns the Church into a legal entity, a sociologically well-defined power. In my opinion, the virtue of this study lies in the fact that here we have a jurist who examines historical sources to determine their value and content in terms of church law. This inevitably brings him into continuous conflict with Sohm<sup>1</sup>, and this is one of the book's strongest features.

The congregation does not act as a legal association electing its executive (here the author criticizes the analogies to political law that appear in Calvin's thought), but she practices universal priesthood; she does not select representatives but calls men to the divinely established ministry. Calvin wants to see the active suffrage reserved to bearers of an office. Ordination is a confirmation of appointment to office; it is carried out by ministers or, in the Reformed church, also by presbyters.

In the fourth section, "ministry and congregation", Münter's research brings him to the conclusion that there is no

question of one being superior, the other subordinate; rather both the ministry and the congregation are constitutive factors of the *verbum externum*. The study culminates in the assertion: The ordering of the church by the ministry is a legal order *sui generis* (p. 92).

This statement circumscribes the value of this work, first in the face of all attempts to play off the ministry against the congregation, then in the face of occasional charges that the Lutheran church had betrayed itself to the episcopal supremacy of the regional sovereign. This volume renders an essential service to all efforts of reorientation towards church orders and ecclesiastical legal relationships. We hail its publication with profound gratification, a joy that is, inevitably, tinged with sorrow. For this is the second section of the *Habilitationsschrift*<sup>2</sup>, by a young German theologian who did not return from the last war.

Münter regards a teaching ministry as indispensable, whoever may exercise it, that is, the authority "to judge doctrine". In *Damnamus*, H. W. Gensichen describes how this authority was exercised in the 16th century, primarily in the Lutheran symbolic books. Under this somewhat warlike title, the author explains how one of the functions of the church's teaching ministry was carried out, that of proscribing false doctrine.

The anathema is by nature not a verdict against heretics but a means of protection for the truly believing congregation. Thus Gensichen prefers to regard it as something positive. In the first part of his account, he shows that that is how it was understood in the New Testament and in the Ancient Church and that this particular function was rediscovered by Luther. Luther achieved his view of the *damnamus* primarily through his disputation of the Roman administration of the anathema. Since the Middle Ages, the anathema had been used exclusively as a means of enforcing church authority in regard to prevailing legislation against heretics, sharply differentiated from censure and other means of fighting heresy. Luther, of course, had experience of this whole

<sup>1</sup> Rudolf Sohm, German professor of church law, 1841–1917.

<sup>2</sup> post-doctoral dissertation admitting scholar to a professorship.



scale of ecclesiastic anti-heresy legislation from his own trial.

Luther brought the "medicinal" aspect of the *damnamus* back into the forefront; it thus becomes an expression of brotherly communal discipline, intended also to help the heretic to find his way back to saving truth. The anathema draws a dividing line between pure and false doctrine. Holy Scripture is the sole criterion for judgment. False doctrine exists in the first place wherever there is no teaching; further, it may be characterized by its content: heresy is identified by its relationship to the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*, the "main article on Christ". Morality or moral behavior is no criterion for false doctrine. The anathema, first, records: here is false doctrine, here is a separation from the Body of Christ, that is, from Christ Himself and from those who belong to Christ. Pure preaching of the Gospel is the sole safeguard against all heresy: *Nos iudicamus secundum evangelium*.

The author then deals exhaustively with the anathemata in the *Confessio Augustana*, their history and significance. He deals in particular with the difficulty raised by the special formulation "*improbamus*" is the tenth article. In other respects the condemnations of the Augsburg Confession are completely in line with Luther; the *improbamus*, though, does not quite fit the impartiality with which the Ancient Church's other anathemata are reiterated. Various theological and political motives contributed to the fact that in the face of the only contemporary heresy, Zwingli's doctrine of the Sacrament (there are no condemnations of Roman doctrine), the milder expression was preferred to the stern *damnamus*.

Many of the inter-Protestant controversies of the time between Luther's death and the creation of the Formula of Concord are disagreements over the application of the anathema which has largely lost its original meaning, restored by Luther, and has become an instrument of ecclesiastical politics. On the other hand, there always were voices raised to assert that the *damnamus* was a

decision of faith and not a tool of church politics.

It was the *damnamus* that proved a point of division for many when the Formula of Concord was created. Also, differentiations between material and personal condemnations arose that were quite unknown to the Augsburg Confession. The resistance of some "mild Lutheran" groups and of some individual right-wing Melancthonians was aroused by the "negatives" which the Torgau Book contained in considerable detail. That is why the preface to the Bergen Book, the final version of the *Form. Conc.* (Solid Declaration), deals in detail with the need for and the justification and limits of the ecclesiastical anathema. Once more it is invested with the original function of church self-protection; it is pronounced by the Church who thus divorces herself from other, false points of view. The object of the *damnamus* is the false doctrine, not the person of the heretic. This seems to pay due respect once again to the former "sanitary" function of the anathema.

At this point, Gensichen's study takes on significance for us today. For there is no doubt that most of the heresies which appear in the negations of the Formula of Concord are still prevalent. The anathema signifies a difference in fundamental articles and is therefore still relevant today. It has a divisive effect among churches. For us that means—and this seems to be the real contribution of this punctilious and well-constructed study—that the controversies in which the Lutheran church has pronounced a *damnamus* are points of view truly divisive of the church and not merely second-rate differences of academic opinion.

Wilhelm Maurer contributes to the understanding of modern church history with his study on "post-1918 synodal Evangelical episcopacy". He first presents a—by no means uncritical—survey; that is, he describes synodal episcopacy as it has legally and in practice developed on the basis of the constitutions of different German *Landeskirchen*. Synodal—that means that since the episcopal supremacy of the regional sovereign has come to an end, the bishop

is no longer an absolutely independent figure. Instead, he is confronted by and more or less dependent upon the synod which is the actual executive agency of the church. The highest office, the "spiritual direction" of a church, is still episcopal even where the authority involved, or the constitutional assembly, has rejected the use of the title of bishop on theological grounds or because of antagonism to the institution. The author shows how the church constitutions set up after 1918 represented an attempt to replace the sovereign prince's episcopal supremacy by something new, by synodal episcopacy, an office that was already anticipated in the General Superintendent of the Old Prussian Union. Yet the system proper of regional *Landeskirchen* was not superseded. The insights gathered during the church struggle and in the reorganization of the churches after 1945 have been applied in part to a partial revision of the highest office of the church.

This is a thorough and exceedingly instructive study, and it has contributed considerably to a better comprehension of the current situation in the German member churches, particularly because of its synodal view of the episcopacy. For this means that in the synod the bishop has a counter-part, and that the synod must regard itself as a spiritual entity rather than a parliamentary institution. Finally, the author states that the office of a bishop is by nature identical with the *munus ecclesiasticum*: "The bishop as *pastor pastorum* has the whole *Landeskirche* including its synodical authorities as his parish" (p. 62). His ministry is spiritual leadership.

The discussion of the relationship between episcopacy, the synod, and the confession is particularly emphatic. It climaxes in the statement: "...that is why this office can fully develop only where the Lutheran confession is honored and applied" (p. 67). Particularly in view of what the author says about the synod, a similar study of the synod since 1922 seems to be called for.

We want to conclude this survey of historical contributions to the subject of church, ministry, and confession with a reference to a systematic study by the

Leipzig systematician Ernst Sommerlath, *Amt und allgemeines Priestertum*. His reflections are intended to help overcome the alternative: "Ministry or universal priesthood". The ministry is a divine institution, not merely a factor of human organization; its justification and structure stem from the very nature of the Church. The discussion of the significance of "*rite vocatus*" and "*publica doctrina*" are particularly instructive. Article 14 of the Augsburg Confession "cannot be taken to imply that the individual members of the congregation confer the office which might be the due of each to one individual, but only that the *rite vocatio* carried out calls individuals to the office which is to exist within the Church as an order of the Church according to the will of God" (p. 19). "*Publice docere*" means "that the servant in the ministry officially, that is on behalf of the Church, proclaims her beliefs with authority" (p. 27).

It follows that the ministry is not "merely a necessary institution for the administration of the means of grace" (p. 31), but "a means commanded by the Lord".

Thus the author also opens up a new conception of the universal priesthood "which has strayed in a wrong direction" (p. 34). Layman have an independent ministry apart from the special ministry, and both ministries are closely related. Neither can exist without the other.

This is an indispensable book which, it is to be hoped, will everywhere accomplish the service it seeks to render, namely to regain the "universal priesthood". The exposition of the special ministry can help to achieve an understanding of the universal priesthood as indeed a true priesthood.

"Thus the time seems to have come to liberate the universal priesthood of believers from its negative distortion and its polemical restriction in opposition to the ministry... The universal priesthood is by no means simply a possession of the congregation; it is, rather, the ideal of the priestly person that is largely still to be realized" (p. 42). It is good that these things are said; we can only hope that they may also find a hearing.

Hans H. Weissgerber



## Education and Educators

T. E. A. VERITY, *On Becoming a Teacher*, University of London Press: London, 1954.

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, *The Conflict in Education in a Democratic Society*, Harper and Brothers: New York, 1953.

OSKAR HAMMELSBECK, *Glaube, Welt, Erziehung* (Faith, World, Education), Verlag Irene Setzkorn-Schleifhacken: Mühlheim, 1954.

WALTER UHSADEL, *Evangelische Erziehungs- und Unterrichtslehre* (Evangelical Theory of Education and Instruction), Verlag Quelle und Meyer: Heidelberg, 1954.

Every teacher will find pleasure in reading the first book. We encounter, if in a new way, the old problem of the young teacher at the start of his career, full of ideals and "final" opinions gathered at the teachers' college. However, the daily work in school proves to be rather different, and all the excellent theories are of little use in real life. He easily becomes subject to disillusionment and resignation. How is he to deal with this crisis? Here an experienced teacher speaks—and helps.

Faculty relationships are beautifully sketched, as is the "Head". Not as convincing is the English pattern of authority (i. e., authority by remoteness). Authority is not a thing that can be attained or maintained by certain methods and formalities. Only he who accepts responsibility can command authority. And in the classroom, the main question is whether personal relations to the children are good. Otherwise, neither method nor conduct will be of much use.

The teacher's life outside the school is also masterfully described. We encounter the average type of present-day teacher who hardly has any life outside his teaching program. How can a modern teacher possibly acquire any culture in this manner? Mere activity is draining the life from our teachers. Often they are so busy that they cannot manage more than their special preparation for par-

ticular classes; but what is a teacher without general preparation for his task? Where this is lacking, the teacher is useless, no matter how carefully he prepares for each day.

The chapters on educational philosophy and theology are valuable, even though they bring no entirely convincing solution to the fundamental questions that have been raised.

Robert M. Hutchins' book transports you into a totally different world. Himself an American, Hutchins is one of the most intrepid and radical critics of American education. This is evident also from this volume. The pedagogics of adjustment, of pragmatism, of social reform and, especially, the neutralist trend are all subjected to thorough analysis and critical appraisal. Rarely have American schools and education drawn as elegant and as crushing a verdict.

There is greater difficulty when we come to the author's own position. The end of education is, in his opinion, to improve men. But this demands that we know the difference between good and evil, that we know what man is. Hutchins recognizes this. His philosophic assumption asserts that man is rational, moral, and spiritual, and he wants to see these human attributes developed. Thus it becomes the first task of education to decide what is beneficial and what is harmful to man. This calls for value judgments.

The aim of pedagogy, according to Hutchins, should be "liberal education". This becomes concrete through a form of and a purpose in life that enable youth to achieve such stable norms that they can educate themselves. The content of these norms, however, remains somewhat vague with Hutchins as with all idealists. Nevertheless, his book indicates that there is a new orientation in Western education.

This is also apparent from the various essays contained in Oskar Hammelsbeck's book. When compared to his earlier work, *Evangelische Lehre von der Erziehung* (Evangelical principles of education) this volume does not seem to contain anything essentially new; at the same time, it gives the impression

that essay and lecture are the forms best suited to the author. At any rate, he here contributes a number of valuable and stimulating ideas to the on-going discussion of education from the religious point of view.

His account and evaluation of the various secular as well as religious educational trends is instructive and interesting. It is true that where the end of education is discussed, one can hardly avoid the impression of a certain amount of casuistry. Sören Kierkegaard once spoke of the "passion for distinctions". Such a passion is much in evidence in Hammelsbeck's comments on the purpose of education.

Consideration of "genuine worldliness" takes up a considerable amount of space. The author is convinced that, should religious educationists achieve a proper elucidation on this point, it would have considerable bearing on their relations to modern general theoretical pedagogy. It is not, however, always clear where Hammelsbeck himself stands on this question. At times you get the uncomfortable feeling that a sound distinction between the two realms is being dialectically obliterated. Certainly the author is not likely to turn genuine worldliness into isolated secularism, but what about the epigoni? We are all, after all, aware that "culturally directed" Christians stand in danger of eventually forgetting the vertical relationship entirely.

Hammelsbeck has much that is good to say about "genuine confession" which he opposes to "confessionalizing". Genuine confession and genuine worldliness belong together. That, too, sounds theoretically quite reasonable; but he who lives in a typical folk church, as we do in the North, will find many an unanswered question at this point. One rather gets the impression that the lines here established are even more mechanical and more schematic than confessional boundaries may at times be. But all such doubts must not conceal the fact that this book can provide a stimulating encounter.

The serious purpose with which German religious pedagogy, has, in fact, set

about its task during the past thirty years becomes clear as one takes up Uhsadel's book. You learn that the debate on questions of principle in religious education has had practical results that benefit every-day teaching in school and church. Uhsadel's principles of instruction command considerable respect. His principles of education, however, produce some hesitation. Certainly this is without doubt the most difficult aspect of the task, and the author has surely made it no easier by maintaining throughout an exchange with general pedagogy.

But if you seek to solve problems in religious education while keeping constantly in touch with general education, then you run into a certain amount of danger, even with such congenial scholars as Wilhelm Flitner and others in sympathy with him. There is, for instance, the danger of adopting a concrete aim that will, finally, land you in general, directed education. This danger is lessened by the fact that Uhsadel ascribes greater importance to the groundwork of education than to its aims. Christian education is determined not so much by a definite goal as by purposeful groundwork.

The clear distinction between a cultural ideal and the aims of education are also salutary and useful. Religious education did not fare too well in its flirtation with an idealistic model personality. We must return to the Christian purpose and the Christian foundation of education.

The book's most valuable section is that on method. This presents not only an objective, historical account but also a sound, helpful evaluation. Theodor Haeckel's much-quoted and ever misinterpreted saying on the Holy Spirit was badly in need of a correct definition after the pedagogic abuse it has suffered. We can say that after the pendulum's unhealthy and wide swing, Uhsadel has now found the right mean in methods. That is why his work represents a valuable contribution to Lutheran religious instruction.

Bjarne Hareide.



## Reinhold Niebuhr

HANS HOFMANN: *Die Theologie Reinhold Niebuhrs im Lichte seiner Lehre von der Sünde* (Reinhold Niebuhr's theology in the light of his doctrine of sin), Zwingli Verlag: Zürich, 1954. 245 pp.

The author, who introduces himself in the preface as a onetime graduate student of Emil Brunner's and as a "Barthian of a higher order" (!), aims to show in this study that the doctrine of sin is the really structural element in Niebuhr's theology.

Essentially, he succeeds in doing this. And yet in his presentation the lines of Niebuhr's theology do not become clear. This may be in part because Niebuhr is not a strictly systematic thinker and because the few concepts used by him almost without exception carry more than one meaning. Even so, by a careful analysis of these concepts, and by a comparison of Niebuhr's position with those of other theologians, the author should have been able to contribute to a better understanding and a clearer comprehension of Niebuhr's theology. The comparison with the theologies of Barth and Bultmann does not go very far and seldom leads beyond quite general formulations.

One notices in this presentation the tendency to interpret Niebuhr—of whom the author quite correctly says "that his liberal schooling has influenced him in more than just his terminology" (p. 19)—in the direction of Barthian theology. When the author notes that, for Niebuhr, evil and sin have a "reality not to be argued away" (p. 32), then a discussion about Barth's thesis concerning the "ontological impossibility of sin" appears to have been called for. Instead, the author defines the concept of sin—N. B., not for himself but for Niebuhr—as the "negation of life's reality that has no being in itself" (p. 118). Barth and the Hegelians might take great joy in such a speculative definition, but not Niebuhr to whom a theology in which man acts like God and in which he views everything *sub specie aeternitatis*, is less than congenial. The author quotes almost all of Niebuhr's writings extensively, even his sermon meditations. It is all the more

surprising, then, that that article remains unmentioned in which Niebuhr, shortly after the World Council of Churches conference in Amsterdam, 1948, expressly dissociates himself from "continental theology", especially that of a Barthian character. (cf., *The Christian News-Letter*, London, No. 323, Oct. 27, 1948; German: "Wir sind Menschen und nicht Gott", in *Gespräche nach Amsterdam*, Zollikon: Zürich, 1949).

If the contrast between Barth's and Niebuhr's position seems to be consciously overlooked or smoothed over, the contrast—and this is thoroughly consistent—between Niebuhr's and Bultmann's theology is overstressed. Here the author often operates in gross generalizations, whereby especially Bultmann's position suffers many an oversimplification. So, for example, the author maintains "that, for Bultmann, faith is the bringing about of a change in one's understanding of existence, accomplished by man himself, whereas for Niebuhr it is the action which stems from God... that is significant" (p. 80). One doesn't have to reach for Bultmann's commentary on the Gospel of St. John or his theology of the New Testament in order to invalidate this assertion. Precisely in the article "Neues Testament und Mythologie", so frequently quoted by the author, Bultmann points up the importance of the "act of God in Christ", saying that it is only this that makes possible faith, love, and the true life of men. Moreover, Bultmann is less interested in a change in one's understanding of existence than in a change in existence itself, of which the modern philosophical understanding of existence is incapable, despite correct insights and an essential proximity to the Christian understanding of existence. In this given point there is no difference worthy of mention between the two. In contrast, the author has seen correctly that Bultmann actually eliminates the eschatology of the end of history which Niebuhr quite rightly wishes to retain.

Furthermore, the concepts of myth which Bultmann and Niebuhr use are certainly not so fundamentally different as the author would like to represent them. Supposedly the contrast is such that, according to Bultmann, myth forms "an im-

manent, human and temporally conditioned way of looking at things", whereas for Niebuhr myth is "the transcendent medium of God's own turning to man" (p. 78). But even Niebuhr's terminology in speaking of the "great religious myths" (p. 90), "the hebraic myth" (p. 103), the "mythology of history" (pp. 81 f.), and the "Marxist mythology" (p. 82) shows clearly enough that his concept of myth is far more inclusive than Hofmann's definition of it, and that he includes in it the element of a temporally conditioned, human way of looking at things which Bultmann so strongly stresses. And the supposedly immense contrast disappears completely when Niebuhr speaks of the "historical illusion which necessarily grows out of mythical statements", and when he says that the story of the Fall is "not really historical" (p. 98). Bultmann, too, would not contest the statement that all the same the "myth of the Fall" contains a "truth". Evidently Hofmann himself is aware of just how close to Bultmann's position Niebuhr here actually comes, otherwise there would have been little reason to warn against "making Niebuhr a follower of Bultmann on the basis of his own statements" (p. 81). Yet it is true that Niebuhr has never proposed any sort of a demythologizing program.

The author raises the accusation against Lutheran ethics that through its teaching concerning the "total depravity of man" it has led to "unqualified pessimism and quietism" (p. 107), whereas he later states that the Reformation did not (!) recognize the tremendous social significance of sin, and therefore neglected the divine "obligations to work positively and constructively for and in the world" (p. 162). The author understandably spares himself the trouble of proving these assertions. One can only urge him to take notice of the results of Scandinavian Luther research and perhaps to read *Luthers lära om kallelsen*<sup>1</sup> (Luther's Doctrine of Vocation—Lund, 1948) by Gustav Wingren, the Lundensian professor of ethics, well known also in Amerika. Far from all pessimism and quietism, Luther and Lutheranism have taught in their social

ethics that natural man is capable of a life of outward, civil righteousness, that God even commands such righteousness, and that He rewards it with temporal goods. To be sure, they denied that man is able to win his righteousness in the sight of God through such work for and in the world. But if the author feels that he must criticize this teaching as the "doctrine of the total depravity of man", then he should aim his reproach directly at the Apostle Paul.

At the end of his presentation, the author assures us that among American theologians it is Paul Tillich, and among European, Emil Brunner, who have had the greatest influence upon Niebuhr's world of thought (pp. 228 ff). Too bad that little of this influence is apparent in Hofmann's presentation! It is Barthian influence that predominates. Without doubt the author is thoroughly acquainted with Niebuhr's theology, but whether he has always interpreted him correctly appears questionable.

Gottfried Hornig

## Sects and Free Churches

KURT HUTTEN, *Seher, Grübler, Enthusiasten* (Prophets, Seekers, Enthusiasts), third enlarged edition, Quell Verlag der Evangelischen Gesellschaft: Stuttgart, 1953. 607 pp., 8 pp. illustr.

OSWALD EGGENBERGER, *Die Neuaustolische Gemeinde* (The New Apostolic Church), vol. 18 of *Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie*, Christian Kaiser Verlag: München, 1953. 208 pp., contents.

ULRICH KUNZ, ed., *Viele Glieder — Ein Leib* (Many Members—One Body), Quell Verlag der Evangelischen Gesellschaft: Stuttgart, 1953. 368 pp.

If you pick up the "Book of sects" by Kurt Hutten you get a glimpse at present-day religious forms and communities that are not easily categorized. About 120 sects and communities are treated in 570 pages. A short pictorial appendix is most illuminating; to encounter Mary Baker Eddy in a picture speaks volumes.

The author bases his judgment on the gospel of justification by faith. He can-

<sup>1</sup> available in German: *Luthers Lehre vom Beruf*, Munich, 1952.



not, nor does he wish to, assume that they whom he portrays would accept his evaluation. His position enables him to examine the various groups' view of man. One thing becomes apparent: man himself takes up the center of the stage wherever a step beyond justification is attempted. Christian Science is, for instance, founded on the belief that man himself can attain the ultimate end of healing, if he but travel the road appointed for him.

The same basic attitude pervades the anthropology of the Community of Christ (Anthroposophic). The Fall bears the character of a crisis in development. Personal guilt is pushed aside, it is merged into the original fate of a "sickness of sin". No wonder that the Bible does not remain the sole source of revelation for this truth. Where Paul's and Luther's comprehensive definition of man as "to be justified by faith" alone is by-passed or, rather, not reached, there one has by-passed the center of Scripture itself.

The prevalence of progressive modern ideas among the sects is another characteristic of their place in history. Jehovah's Witnesses give a glowing account of God's kingdom on earth. The patriarchs and believers of the Old Testament will "direct the affairs of the whole world by means of perfect radio transmitters". Hence a regular faith in organization and propaganda is evolved. Optimism knows no bounds; thus the Bahai religion proclaims: "The flower of civilization and the culture of all the nations will here be assembled to mingle their sweet perfumes and to mark the path of the brotherhood of men." Abdul Baha declared in 1913 that this was the century of the sun and the truth; that it was the century of the kingdom of God on earth. The sects share these ideas of cultural optimism with the Anabaptists and Spiritualists of the Reformation.

Oswald Eggenberger's study of the New Apostolic Church has the advantage of illuminating the marks of the sect at the hand of a particularly flagrant example. The New Apostolic Church claims to be a communion of Apostles. There is the constantly recurring phrase: "Jesus in the Apostle", conferring upon the teaching of such apostles the status

of revelation. Its authority stands and falls, however, with the sublimity of its bearers' convictions in word and deed. A contemporary viewpoint is betrayed by the emphasis upon moralistic and perfectionist ideals. The outward order of the church is credited with divine value: in its proper form it exists only in the New Apostolic Church. This feature of exclusiveness is founded in the doctrine that the office of an apostle does not only confer the Holy Spirit, but that it may dispose of Him according to God's will and grant Him to lesser offices and believers.

The authors agree in regarding sects as signs of warning for the Church. Hutten's question with regard to sects is taken up by Eggenberger: "What if, after all, they have been given a mission by God, the mission to admonish the Church—to be a warning signal that she must heed?" A "book on sects" might well have more of the character of a handbook with reports in systematic order. There is need for a handbook on sects that will enable the pastor to follow up the real secret of the sects wherever he may encounter it in the course of his pastoral ministry. In other words, we ought not to be satisfied with a survey of prophets, seekers, and enthusiasts, but should seek to illuminate the realm of the occult as it occurs today, just as did the epistles of the New Testament for their contemporary period.

Besides the "Book of sects", the same publishers have issued a "Book on Free Churches", the symposium *Viele Glieder — Ein Leib*. It displays, in self-portraits, no less than seventeen German churches, from the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Old Prussia to the Salvation Army. Their portraits present them as differing and thus, somehow, divided churches, not simply congregations. There are two parallel, though not isolated aspects. One is expressed in the book's title which asserts, not without presumption, that many churches, many members, here make up one body. The other is present simply in the fact that each of the self-described churches exists independently. The book's editor feels that this constitutes a call to repentance for

all. He mentions the Evangelical Alliance, the ecumenical movement and, last not least, the Evangelical *Kirchentage* as places where this call to repentance finds practical application.

It is good that the descriptions are presented in self-portraits. This gives the floor to churchmen speaking of their own experience. These experiences might encourage us to reckon with the reality

of confession of sins, the Holy Communion, and sacrificial love. In this light, the call to repentance which the small churches have directed at the "large" church is a thing of joy. We stand in need of the Free Churches' accounts of their experiences as signs of encouragement. For not only their history and their order, but their actual life is our concern.

Johannes Andersen



## LOOKING TO THE MARANGU CONFERENCE

As this issue of *Lutheran World* goes into the mail, the All-Africa Lutheran Conference is just opening at Marangu, Tanganyika. The preparations for this conference were reported in detail in the first number of our journal's current volume by Fridtjov Birkeli, director of the LWF Department of World Missions, who has also been primarily responsible for planning the conference. Our other church press has brought occasional, if somewhat sparse, reports and essays on the participants, on the locale of the meeting, and on Lutheranism in Africa. The member churches of the Lutheran World Federation have been asked to remember the gathering in Tanganyika and African Christians in a special intercessory prayer on Reformation Day. In view of the occasion and of the forthcoming Tranquebar Jubilee, much of this number is devoted to reflection on mission, its history and origin, and to reports from the mission fields and younger churches.

The conference is a venture; in many areas it cannot fall back on experience or precedent. It is, indeed, the first Lutheran, more, the first Christian conference for all of Africa. But it is peculiarly original in a very different respect as well, and this may to some extent explain the want of comprehension and the surprise which the advance reports encountered in some quarters. For the Marangu conference combines two areas which, according to our century's dogma, may never be discussed simultaneously but only in meticulous isolation and even then only along carefully prescribed lines.

What is this conference? It is a gathering (essentially Lutheran) of churches and missions in Africa. This determines its themes: "The Relevance of our Confession Today", "Revival in the Church", "A Serving Church", "Evangelism and Stewardship", "Spreading the Bible". Such topics strike the normal person as just as uninteresting as they are harmless; they happen to be "church topics". The same is likely to apply even to the talks that will deal with the church's tasks in this particular continent; sects, the mass movement in Ethiopia, or the encounter of Christian faith with African heritage are, for instance, to be discussed. But this does not circumscribe the conference. It will devote considerable time to the discussion of politically sensitive points in contemporary Africa. School problems are to be debated—how sensitive a spot this is anyone unaware of it can verify a few pages back in Johannes Skauge's account. There is to be discussion on whether sufficient compassion is being shown, whither Africa's road may lead, and how she may be given leadership and aid. For these subjects, especially, Africans themselves will have the floor. What they are going to say, in responsibility to the living God, may prove of considerably more import to Africa's political future than the repetition of phrases and ideas from the political and ideological systems of the Old World.

The men who prepared the meeting are fully aware of its possible political consequences. They do not shrink from them, but they do not aim at them. Their thinking passes from the Church to the world, not vice versa. It is this that casts suspicion on their purpose, this that today's world finds so hard to grasp. This is clericalism! say our anxious contemporaries, and the anxious Christian imploringly warns of the specter of confessionalism whose shadow he fancies to see as he scans the Christian horizon. To be sure, these are individual voices, even if they are occasionally raised as the "Voice of the Congregation"<sup>1</sup>, yet what they say serves neither the peace nor the factual instruction of Christendom. I should like to illustrate this by two typical if especially unfortunate examples of the recent past.

Last summer, the *British Weekly* (July 14, 1955) in reporting the serious and passionate controversy that had erupted over the "Foreign Office" of the Evangelical Church in Germany, informed us about the existence of a "partisan element" in

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<sup>1</sup> *Die Stimme der Gemeinde* (Voice of the Congregation) is a bi-weekly paper, edited by Herbert Mochalski and published by Martin Niemöller and Gustav W. Heinemann, among others.

German Protestantism striving to substitute a "Lutheran" for the "Evangelical" consciousness of Christians in Germany and of German congregations in foreign parts, supported in this "by the American-financed Lutheran World Federation". In *Evangelikus Elet*, Hungarian Lutheran organ, Adam Mekis, Bishop's Deputy, branded the LWF guilty of a grievous sin of omission because Lutheran World had not published the Evanston resolutions of Section IV (International Affairs) or done anything for their implementation and, instead, had dealt with "sterile" and "destillated" (sic) theology "which soars to the heights of abstract principles and perorates in an academic style ignoring the events which move and keep in tension the life of mankind..." (*Hungarian Church Press*, August 15, 1955).

Let us, first, assure our brother from Hungary that nothing lies further from the Lutheran World Federation's intentions than false neutrality in the face of human distress. But where we are concerned with God's compassion, there is such a thing as genuine neutrality of love. The priest and the Levite in Jesus' parable "showed their colors"; the good Samaritan was "neutral", for he loved that other one even though he was perhaps "kept in tension" no less than his predecessors by the things that divided them, humanly speaking. The report of Section IV at Evanston was also written in this neutrality of love, and we embrace it and the resolution of the World Council of Churches' General Assembly just as do the Christian churches that co-operate in the World Council. There was no reason to reprint it in our journal since it is available in numerous editions and may therefore be assumed to be generally known. The fact that the President of the Ministerial Council of Hungary was informed of its contents by the leaders of the Hungarian Protestant churches fills us with the respect we owe any confession "in conspectu regum". We are, moreover, quite ready to accept in our journal any serious suggestions for the implementation of these resolutions.

Almost more painful is the remark about party divisions within the Evangelical Church in Germany supposedly fostered by the LWF, for this assertion contradicts the principle, which the World Federation meticulously observes, never to interfere in the internal affairs of churches, even its own member churches. In other words, it is at variance with the very neutrality to which the Hungarian report so strongly objects. In order to rectify the factual error it must, moreover, be pointed out that the aid which the LWF has rendered to church work in Germany has been given largely—in most recent years, indeed, exclusively—to the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKiD) and its organizations in *Hilfswerk*. During the last financial year 1954/55, the Evangelical *Hilfswerk* in Germany has received from the LWF the sum of one and three quarter million German marks in cash and several times this amount in contributed goods; during the same period no money at all was paid to agencies of the VELKD (the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany) or to any other Lutheran group in Germany.

It is hard to understand how as respected a paper as *British Weekly*, ordinarily so disinterested in its reporting, could have published such an account, as erroneous as it is tendentious. It almost appears as if this erupting ire was directed at more than the relationship between Lutheran Landeskirchen and the Evangelical Church in Germany.

Perhaps we should ask why the words "Luther" and "Lutheranism" would appear to provoke spiritual irritations in certain of our contemporaries. These words need not be mentioned to produce an immediate chain of heterogeneous charges: sterile theology, confessionalism, pure doctrine, anti-ecumenical, political abstinence, other-worldly,—we are familiar with them all and hear or read them almost daily. The impression grows upon one that the unresolved issues of our recent Evangelical church history continuously seem to demand, even at our displeasure, a confrontation with this Luther and the theology derived from him. Will this encounter possibly force us to admit that we have indeed learned nowadays how to think politically, even in the church, but that this thinking is, in our day, being attempted without the Spirit and without the love of God?



*Thus world Lutheranism ought to be understood as a penitent movement. For it represents simply the attempt to explore a spiritual approach to the distress and the tensions of modern men and nations, once again to speak of the Church, the gospel of justification and redemption in such a manner that the point will get across even in the "Council chambers and schools". The African conference is an impressive example of precisely this. To be sure, it is a Lutheran conference, though non-Lutherans will participate among the main speakers. The experiment that this conference represents is hazarded for the sake of all Christendom; indeed, it is hoped that it will serve as a prototype for a later ecumenical conference in Africa. It seeks to help Africa and its people to deal with their political and social problems and strives to show to the whole world that in the face of these problems there are obligations which can be rightly understood only through the love of Christ. It can solve these problems only if it is backed up by Christians who do not feud with cheap slogans to protect their petty interests but who know what they owe their Lord. That is why this conference stands in need of our intercession, that is why it needs the people of God witnessing to His cause in discipline and love in the face of all the distress and problems of this world.*

Hans Bolewski

### LWF Conference Schedule

#### 1956

250 Year Jubilee of Lutheran Missions in  
Tranquebar

LWF Executive Committee Meeting

All-Asia Lutheran Conference

Preparatory Committee for the 1957

LWF Assembly

Commission on Stewardship and  
Congregational Life

European Minority Churches' Conference

Commission on Inner Missions

Commission on World Missions

Conference on Luther Research

Commission on World Service

Commission on Theology

January 12—15, Tranquebar, India

January 16—19, Madras, India

January 20—21, Madras, India

February 10—11, Minneapolis, USA

April 9—13, Oslo, Norway

April, Switzerland (final date and place  
to be fixed shortly)

July 16—18, Berlin, Germany

August 9—16, Hurdalsverk, Norway

August 13—19, Aarhus, Denmark

August 15—18, London, England

August 20—26, Lund, Sweden (still  
uncertain)

## ABOUT THIS NUMBER

Two main events in the work of the Lutheran World Federation have a particular bearing on this issue, the All-Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu, Tanganyika, and the 250-year Jubilee of Lutheran—and indeed Protestant—missions to be observed in January in Tranquebar and Madras. Two of the main articles, the contributions of *Professor B. G. M. Sunkler* (Theological Faculty, Uppsala) and *Dr. F. Birkeli*, are devoted to the Marangu Conference conversation. The essay by *Professor H. Meyer* is based on a talk he gave in July of this year at the conference of the LWF Commission on World Missions, in Järvenpää, Finland. The essay by *Professor L. Aalen* (Free Theological Faculty, Oslo) is a fruit of his research on Zinzendorf. We wish that his large monograph on the young Zinzendorf, at the moment obtainable only in Norwegian, would soon be made available also in other languages.

Of the contributors to this number with whom our readers are not yet acquainted, *Dr. Carl F. Reuss* is executive secretary of the Board for Christian Social Action of the American Lutheran Church. In addition, Dr. Reuss is a member of the Working Committee of the World Council of Churches' Department on Church and Society, and of the LWF Commission on Inner Missions. *Johannes Skauge* is mission director of the Norwegian Missionary Society. *Dr. Arne Sovik* has been assistant director of the LWF Department of World Missions since May 1. *J. D. Asirvadam*, a member of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church, is due much credit for the development of Lutheran work in India. President Emeritus of the Lutheran National Missionary Society of India, he still represents his church as an elected member of that body's Council. *Sigurd Aske*, a Norwegian by nationality, also serves a non-occidental church; he is superintendent of the Japan mission of the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church with headquarters in Kobe. At the same time he is chairman of the All Lutheran Free Conference in Japan. *Dr. Matthias Simon*, director of the Church Archives of the Bavarian Lutheran Church, is the author of a recently published over-all account of the Religious Peace of Augsburg. From 1910 to 1924, *Superintendent Georg Böker* was pastor of the South African congregations of Berlin, Potsdam, and Macleantown. Since his retirement he has been at work on a history of the South African diaspora which has maintained ties with the Church of Hannover. *Pastor Friedrich Hofmann*, chairman of the All-German Association of Church Choirs, participated in the Amsterdam conference on Lutheran church music and was elected chairman of its continuation committee. *O. Krenz* is pastor and religious instructor of Warsaw's Evangelical Lutheran Holy Trinity parish.

New contributors of book reviews are Rector Bjarne Hareide, Oslo; Dr. Gottfried Hornig, Lund; and Pastor Johannes Andersen, Hamburg-Altona.

We should like to call to our readers' attention an error in number 2 of the present volume: The three book reviews under the heading "Judaism and the New Testament" were not written by Dr. Helge Ljungberg but by Dr. Henrik Ljungman.

The Christian Kaiser publishing house, Munich, has asked us to mention that *Ragnar Bring's Förhållandet mellan tro och gärningar inom luthersk teologi*, mentioned in *Gunnar Hillerdahl's* article ("Church and Politics", *Lutheran World*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 150) was published by them this year in a German translation entitled *Das Verhältnis von Glauben und Werken in der lutherischen Theologie*. The book will be reviewed in a later issue.

In the next number of this journal we shall publish the main lectures presented to the Commission on Theology at Strasbourg (cf. Hans H. Weissgerber's preview in *Voll. II*, No. 2, pp. 168ff.) on the unity of the Church and on Communion and Sacrifice.



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